RAYMOND ROBINS, CRUSADER

THE *Nation*

October 30, 1954

20¢

Secret Blacklist

The Untold Story of the U. S. Information Agency

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

World in Deadlock — *Konni Zilliacus*

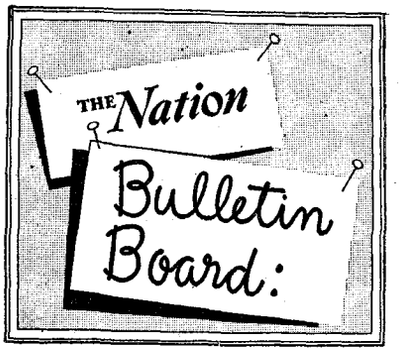
Legacy of Wounded Pride — *Edgar Snow*

Two Books on India and the West

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

NOV 2 1954

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LAST MONTH *The Nation* noted the five-year sentence given Frank Hashmall, an Ohio Communist leader, when Hashmall was tried on a charge of using a false name and address in filling out a motor-vehicle registration form. *The Nation* agreed with the Ohio Supreme Court that the trial judge had handed down an excessive sentence. Our editorial was featured in the Akron *Beacon Journal,* which noted the concurrence between the magazine and the state Supreme Court. Next day the *Beacon Journal* featured another story about a man named William Snowden who was fined $50 by a trial judge. "His offense," the story said, "was the same as that on which Frank Hashmall . . . is serving a . . . term in the Ohio Penitentiary."

The Supreme Court in its decision observed that "a Communist is entitled to even-handed justice in our courts." At present the only man who can do something about Hashmall's sentence is the Governor of Ohio, Frank Lausche.

THE DECISION-MAKERS (*The Nation,* August 21, 1954), Floyd Hunter's study of the "men behind the scenes" who help make national policy, received widespread attention. It was summarized in the New York *Post,* featured on the front page of the Madison *Capital-Times,* and quoted in a number of other dailies and in labor papers. Hunter, it will be recalled, on the basis of a series of interviews had come up with a list of twenty "decision-makers." Most of those he named have read the article and said they found it interesting.

For example, R. W. Woodruff, chairman of the executive committee of the Coca-Cola Company, comments: "Professor Hunter writes well, and certainly his approach to the subject is completely logical; yet with respect to myself, however flattering such a designation may be, I must, in the light of actual facts, disclaim any right of membership in the group he labels 'the decision-makers.' "

F. G. Gurley, president of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe: "About all I can say is—I'm overwhelmed!"

Edward Ryerson, chairman of the executive committee of the Inland Steel Company: "I have noted with great interest the article written by Mr. Hunter and am rather surprised that I am included among the select group of twenty."

Ernest T. Weir, chairman of the board of the National Steel Corporation: "As you know I have always had a continuing interest in the politics of this country. I enjoyed reading Mr. Hunter's article."

Among other readers, Margaret A. Fellows of Cummington, Massachusetts, believes Hunter "laid too much emphasis on *individuals* and *too little on organizations.*" John Newcomb of New York says that "Hunter deals with the superficial and the particular and is not concerned with discovering the laws underlying surface phenomena. From what source does power flow? How does an individual, group, or class acquire power; how does it hang on to it?" Thomas Campbell of Brooklyn and Frederick J. Miller of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, found the article significant, although Miller wondered whether Norman Chandler, publisher of the Los Angeles *Times,* named as one of the twenty, was as powerful as Colonel McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune.*

FROM TIME TO TIME readers write in to ask whether organizations to which they belong might get a member of the *Nation* staff to speak at a meeting; at the same time, they suggest, the magazine could be introduced to potential subscribers. The proposal seems possible if the meeting is not too far away—that is, if it is in or around New York, Boston, or Philadelphia. Those interested might drop me a note at *The Nation.*

LAST SUMMER *THE NATION* published a story by Leslie Bain on the witch hunt in Miami. The leading spirit among the hunters was State Attorney Brautigam —obviously a dedicated man. Recently a child named Judith Ann Roberts was murdered in Miami, and her father, a lawyer and former labor leader, has been indicted for the crime. Before the indictment Brautigam declared that the murder was a "Communist plot" against the child's father. MARTIN SOLOW

Letter from Burma . . . *by Maung Maung*

WHEN the Anti-Colonial Bureau of Asian Socialists met in May this year at Kalaw in Burma, it decided to fix a day on which Socialists, East and West, should gather to express their disapproval of the remaining traces of colonialism in the world. October 30 was afterward chosen for what was to be called International Freedom Day. Morgan Phillips, chairman of the Socialist International, who recently visited Rangoon, has joined the Asian Socialist Conference in urging Socialists throughout the world to make the day a resounding success. [In New York a group of Americans will mark the occasion with a meeting to be held Friday, October 29, at 8:15 p.m., at the Community Church, Park Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street. Among the speakers will be Waldo Frank.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

It is true that colonialism will not beat a hasty retreat just because indignant peoples shout at it, but when peoples of many nations unite and shout long and loud, they become a force to be reckoned with. Even the cynical must concede that public opinion and popular will have their compulsive strength.

Peoples which are still engaged in the struggle for freedom will be heartened by the worldwide sympathy and moral support they will receive, and those who are already free will be reminded that freedom has to be fought for and preciously preserved. Many countries are still not free. Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Iran-Barat are on the agenda of the current United Nations General Assembly; Malaya and Kenya, though drenched in blood, are not. But dependent peoples are not satisfied with being made the subject of learned debates by government representatives at the U. N. Words are no substitute for the freedom they yearn for.

Slowly the world is learning that even backward peoples can look after themselves very well if left to themselves in peace. There need be no white man's burden. This has been proved by the recent great experiments in which the colonial power abdicated power voluntarily. As a result India, Pakistan, and Ceylon have become independent members of the Commonwealth of Nations; Burma elected independence outside the Commonwealth.

Before independence the Burmese spent their time and energy fighting colonialism; now, after a spell of fighting among themselves by way of keeping in fighting form, they are spending their time and energy on welfare and development programs. Not a nation has yet been driven to surrender its freedom or admit its inability to make freedom work.

Premier U Nu of Burma is not the only Asian leader who speaks up for "neutrality" in the present conflict between the two power blocs, but he has of late been one of the most eloquent. "We are a small nation, and the big powers may not take much notice of us," he said at a conference attended by commanding officers of the Burmese army, "but it is our duty to speak out, and we will not shun that duty." U Nu's formula for world peace is simple: let the dependent peoples be free—free to choose their own trusted leaders, to build their new lives in ways that suit their genius. If they need aid, let it be given in the form of material for development projects and technical instruction. Marshall Aid and Point Four, Colombo Plan and U. N. assistance—

(Continued on page 392)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Volume 179, Number 18
New York, Saturday, October 30, 1954

THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Better Bet

THE election campaign now drawing to a close has been monumentally irrelevant, inept, and evasive. It is as if both major parties had initialed a secret protocol to exclude the major issues. Thunderous debates have echoed across the country over such questions as whether a candidate for sheriff in Cook County, Illinois, once said that "police officers have a disproportionate number of wives that were former prostitutes," the views of Charles E. Wilson on bird dogs versus kennel dogs, and whether the Adelaide Case who once had a nervous breakdown is the same Adelaide Case who once sipped cocktails for Spain. The tendency to evade issues has been reflected, too, in the choice of candidates. In several key Senatorial campaigns, voters have been presented with candidates neither of whom, from any coherent liberal point of view, represents a desirable choice. In others, such as those in New Jersey and Kentucky, the margin of preference is microscopically thin. In only isolated instances, as in the case of Richard Neuberger's candidacy in Oregon and John Carroll's in Colorado, do liberals have a wholly admirable candidate to support for the United States Senate.

There has been no significant debate on foreign policy, on the loyalty-security program, on foreign-trade policy, on civil liberties. Little has been said about the United Nations, though the Charter of the U. N. will be up for possible revision next year. "Gentlemen's agreements" in New York and elsewhere have banned McCarthyism as a debatable subject. The most sharply disputed issues have been those related to the Great Giveaway or, as in many Congressional districts, bearing on local concerns. It is not surprising, therefore, that the pollsters report widespread apathy or that registration fell off in many states.

THIS is not to say that there is no basis for an intelligent preference or that the liberals should stay at home on November 2, reading Spengler and Toynbee. For one thing, the control of Congress is at stake. A quick rundown of the key Senate committee chairmanships will indicate, on this score alone, a basis for choice. If the Democrats should win control of the Senate, these would be the key substitutions: Agriculture—Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana, in place of George W. Aiken, Vermont; Appropriations—Carl Hayden, Arizona, in place of Styles Bridges, New Hampshire; Armed Services—Richard B. Russell, Georgia, in place of Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts; Banking and Currency—J. W. Fulbright, Arkansas, in place of Homer Capehart, Indiana; Finance—Harry F. Byrd, Virginia, in place of Eugene D. Millikin, Colorado; Foreign Relations—Walter F. Georgia, Georgia, in place of Alexander Wiley, Wisconsin; Government Operations—John L. McClellan, Arkansas, in place of Joseph R. McCarthy, Wisconsin; Interior and Insular Affairs—James F. Murray, Montana, in place of Guy Cordon, Oregon; Interstate Commerce—Warren G. Magnuson, Washington, in place of John W. Bricker, Ohio; Judiciary—Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia, in place of William Langer, South Dakota; Labor and Public Welfare—Lister Hill, Alabama, in place of H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey; Public Works—Dennis Chavez, New Mexico, in place of Edward Martin, Pennsylvania; Rules—Theodore Francis Green, Rhode Island, in place of William E. Jenner, Indiana. Senator Paul H. Douglas, Illinois, would probably head the Joint Committee on the President's Economic Report, whose chairman is now Representative Jesse P. Wolcott of Michigan, and Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico would probably head the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, replacing Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York.

READILY conceding that the Democrats are not, in each instance, ideal choices for these key committee posts, nevertheless in only two cases would *The Nation* feel that the Republican was to be preferred. Senator Millikin is a real conservative, whereas Senator Byrd is a reactionary. And it might be argued that Senator Aiken is a better choice for Agriculture than Senator Ellender. But the legislative outlook would be definitely improved if the Democrats were to organize the Senate, and the situation in the House is much the same. In some cases the preference is not political but based on the greater ability or longer experience of one of the men. For example, Senators Saltonstall and Russell are not too far apart politically, but Senator Russell is one of the ablest committee chairmen in Washington. His handling of the "smear" charges against Anna Rosenberg was most skilful. Similarly Senator George on the score of ability and experience, is greatly to be preferred to the maladroit Senator Wiley in the key Foreign Relations chairmanship. It should be noted, in passing, that a Democratic sweep of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Better Bet 373
Near-Miracle in Paris 374

ARTICLES

The Back Door *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 375
Secret Blacklist:
Untold Story of the U. S. I. A.
by Scrutineer 376
World in Deadlock:
The Story of Western Policy
by Konni Zilliacus 379
"Dynamic Housing":
Record of the G. O. P.
by Helen L. Alfred 381
Unions and Politics:
Anglo-American Contrasts
by Paul L. Phillips 382
October, 1954 *A Poem by Kay Boyle* 383
Raymond Robins, Crusader
The Outdoor Mind
by William A. Williams 384
Sword and Bible
by Albert Rhys Williams 385

BOOKS

Legacy of Wounded Pride
by Edgar Snow 386
Who Forms Our Taste?
by Joseph Wood Krutch 388
Pamphleteer Turned Historian
by Frederick L. Schuman 389
THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 390
RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 391
CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 591
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 392
BULLETIN BOARD
by Martin Solow opposite 373
LETTER FROM BURMA
by Maung Maung opposite 373

Editorial Board

Freda Kirchwey *Editor and Publisher*
Carey McWilliams *Editorial Director*
Lillie Shultz *Director, Nation Associates*
Victor H. Bernstein *Managing Editor*
J. Alvarez del Vayo *Foreign Editor*

Martin Solow *Assistant to the Publisher*

Harold Clurman *Theater*
B. H. Haggin *Music*
Gladys Whiteside *Copy Editor*
Caroline Whiting *Assistant Literary Editor*
Mary Simon *Advertising Manager*

Contributing Editors: Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus, Keith Hutchison, H. H. Wilson, W. Macmahon Ball, Maxwell Geismar, Bruce Catton.

The Nation, October 30, 1954, Volume 179, No. 18

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1954, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Company, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index

both houses would much dilute the strength of the "China Lobby" in Congress.

Admittedly the basis for these preferences is purely pragmatic, but we have always thought of the "lesser evil" not as a fallacy but as a political truism. Saints are as rare in politics as in barrack halls. Moreover, once the candidates have been selected, the unfortunate voter must react rather after the manner of a person who wants to place a bet at a race in which only two nags have been entered. Neither may be a very fast horse; the problem, of course, is to select the better bet.

While from the liberal point of view this has been a thoroughly unsatisfactory campaign, nothing is to be gained by lamentations. Unsatisfactory as the candidates are, in many instances there is ground for an intelligent choice. Liberals can perhaps work up some enthusiasm by reflecting that they will be voting in this campaign not for their hearts' desire but for the chance to create a set of conditions out of which more meaningful alternatives may emerge. This is just not their inning—indeed, they are not competitors at the moment—but if they want to keep the know-nothing elements out of power, they should choose "the better bet" on November 2.

Near-Miracle in Paris

PERHAPS the new-born Western European Union, delivered last Saturday at Paris, is the "near-miracle" Secretary Dulles has called it. At any rate, with the signing of various protocols, conventions, declarations, and pacts by the fourteen NATO member states and by the Federal German Republic, a Europe torn by dissension less than a month ago has recreated something that looks like unity. It has also agreed to the rearming of a sovereign West Germany under controls less rigid than those provided in the defunct E. D. C. plan, but fortified by Britain's full commitment to the W. E. U. and by Adenauer's acceptance of permanent economic integration of the Saar with France.

The chief diplomatic victory went to Premier Mendès-France, who managed through a remarkable combination of agility and firmness to win almost every point in a difficult, tricky match. But the real substance of victory went to Chancellor Adenauer, whose impressive concessions on non-essentials won for Germany the two solid objectives he has steadfastly pursued—sovereignty and an armed alliance with the West. And by the same token Mr. Dulles came home with a success he seemed at some earlier stages to have lost for keeps through his rough tactics of pressure and threat. It is natural that he should look upon the Paris accord as somewhat miraculous.

But the job is far from finished. In France and Germany the political forces against the agreements are re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

grouping for a new fight. The German Socialists oppose both the Saar settlement and rearmament; conservative elements within the Adenauer coalition are preparing a showdown on the Saar. The opposition in France, though probably stronger, is more diffuse, and Mendès-France has disarmed part of it by the concessions he won from London and Bonn and the promises he has made. But the deep-rooted hatred of German rearmament will have time to crystallize before ratification is finally voted.

The new Russian note to France, Britain, and the United States, calling for talks next month on Germany and European security, will no doubt be rejected or countered with demands for more explicit terms. It was well timed none the less. And its text, apart from a few foolish statements such as the claim that no "strongly armed Soviet grouping" exists in Eastern Europe, is effectively designed to play on Western fears of a revived German military machine. As the hour for ratification draws near these fears will mount—and with good cause. Premier Mendès-France won preliminary Assembly support for the plan just adopted at Paris only after he promised that talks with Russia would be carried on "parallel" with the rearming of West Germany. The Moscow note will probably not prevent French acceptance of the W. E. U. treaties, but it may help the opposition to tie ratification tightly to negotiations with Russia for an over-all settlement which would make the arming of Germany an anachronism. The Paris "miracle" may be the end of one battle, but it is the beginning of a new and much longer one.

The Back Door

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

CLEAR proof of how profoundly the recent H-bomb test explosions have shaken the world's conscience is to be found in the fact that disarmament and the control of atomic weapons are the issues which dominate this session of the General Assembly. No one feels secure any more, and even President Eisenhower, who last week spoke again of maintaining "enough military strength to deter aggression and promote peace," must know that such a policy, perhaps a practical one five years ago, is today an impossibility. With Russia in possession of the H-bomb the West is no longer in a position to dictate terms to the East. I could quote a dozen American military and political experts who have come to this conclusion.

It is not only that the West's faith in its superiority in nuclear weapons has been diminishing; its faith in finding an effective defense against them has likewise diminished. The United States recently created a Continental Air Defense Command to solve this problem, but at every hand there are indications that it has a long and difficult road to travel. The fact is that nobody seems to have produced an answer to the question: What happens in an atomic stalemate? Reliable reports from Russia indicate that the stalemate is imminent if it is not already here.

Former Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter suggests that the answer lies in the spending of eighteen to twenty billions a year on the air force. The United States could then be assured, he thinks, of having "the kind of air atomic power which would give us reasonable assurance that the Russians would not dare to start an atomic war or allow one to start." But Western experts point out that such an expansion by the United States would be offset by expansion on the part of the Soviet Union. Perhaps, say these experts, the United States would forge ahead for a year or two; then the Russians would catch up and the stalemate would be upon us again.

IF there exists any solution for the problem, it would seem to lie not in a futile atomic race but in the Political Committee of the General Assembly, which is now seeking a compromise on disarmament and atomic controls that would be acceptable to East and West. The committee started its work encouraged by the earlier general debate in the Assembly in which practically every speaker expressed grave concern at the prospect of an atomic war. During this debate Andrei Y. Vishinsky announced that Russia would no longer insist on its old plan for atomic control but would accept the Anglo-French plan, elaborated last year in London, as a basis for discussion.

The Vishinsky statement gave the Political Committee something to work with, even though the skeptics remained skeptical and argued that the "persistently aggressive design" of the Russians and Chinese "shows no evidence of genuine change." This feeling, however, was by no means shared by most of the Western delegations, which agreed that the Soviet acceptance "in principle" of the Anglo-French proposals represented substantial progress. Up to the moment Vishinsky stepped to the Assembly rostrum, at any rate, the situation had been hopelessly deadlocked for years, with the East insisting on, and the West rejecting, the prohibition of atomic weapons *before* any control plan was put into effect. The Anglo-French plan provides for a series of simultaneous operations designed to reconcile the opposing views.*

There still exist weighty differences between the two sides. The Anglo-French scheme, for instance, envisages the creation of a single control organ, while the Russians want two such bodies—one to obtain the reduction of conventional weapons and military forces, and the other

*An excellent report on the successive stages of the arms negotiations has been prepared by Josephine W. Pomerance for the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament, United Nations Plaza, New York 17, N. Y.

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to carry out the control of atomic weapons. As the debate ebbs and flows, it is natural that hope should ebb and flow too. Both sides have already made significant concessions. To match the Soviet Union's acceptance of the Anglo-French plan as a basis for discussion, the Western Big Four on disarmament—the United States, Great Britain, France, and Canada—agreed last week to accept two of the four amendments which Russia demanded as the price for cosponsoring a Western resolution calling for the revival of negotiations on disarmament and atomic control. It is significant that the Russians themselves seem optimistic about the outcome. "We shall come to an agreement," Mr. Vishinsky told the Political Committee.

On Friday the Russians accepted cosponsorship of the Western formula—the first time East and West have agreed on a major U. N. resolution in years. I think it wise not to underestimate the value of this step forward. The people who today exult over the rearmament of Germany may yet have reason to be grateful that a back door to peace is still open, no matter how narrowly, in the United Nations.

SECRET BLACKLIST

Untold Story of the U. S. I. A. . . . *by Scrutineer*

Washington

A FORMER deputy director of the United States Information Agency (U. S. I. A.) has joined the now-it-can-be-told club. His name is Martin Merson. He is a business man who stumbled into this government job last year and stayed there about five months. Throughout the experience he whimpered at the door of Senator McCarthy in the hope that that gentleman would stroke or pat him just once or at least deign to say, "Give me a paw, Marty." It never happened. Joe wouldn't play.

Now, about fourteen months after putting all this behind him, Merson feels remorse. So he has unpacked his U. S. I. A. luggage and spread the dirty laundry across the pages of the *Reporter* (October 7, 1954). It is the epic of McCarthy's domination of the American government's information agency. The essentials of the story became public last year, but Merson has supplied interesting and repulsive details that were then missing.

His report is at once informative and misleading. It is unconsciously deceptive in that it suggests that the nightmarish Battle of the Books is over. The theory that things are now clean and tidy in the front office of the U. S. I. A. is put more strongly and positively in another article in the same issue of the *Reporter*. In this second piece a former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, Edward W. Barrett, gives the U. S. I. A.'s present chiefs a clean bill of health. "The new administrators," Barrett writes, "have performed valiantly." The administration of the agency, he says, has come back a long way "from the shocking shambles of 1953."

The Washington *Post and Times-Herald*, after reprinting a lengthy summary of the Merson article, editorially supports the notion that the Information Agency has gone straight: "The U. S. I. A. has striven mightily to recoup the national prestige ground into mud by the truckling to McCarthy." Before the end of this article I hope to make abundantly clear that those who believe the U. S. I. A. administration has undergone a fundamental change are very gullible indeed.

In fairness, one improvement should be mentioned. When the Battle of the Books was moving to a climax early in 1953, the average number of volumes shipped abroad monthly by the Information Agency dropped from 119,913 to 341, or to about .3 per cent of the previous norm. Lack of clearance for authors was drying up the supply of publications for the government's overseas libraries. Such complete paralysis has been overcome. Books are reaching the libraries nowadays, though often there is still a long delay owing to the slow clearance.

The overriding truth, however, is that the spirit of McCarthy continues to permeate the United States Information Agency under its present director, Theodore Streibert. If one hears much less about it, that is for two reasons. First, many a cripple grows accustomed to his deformity. Second, Streibert has managed to conceal the deformity. He has stated publicly and privately time and again that the U. S. I. A. evaluates books by their content and not by the political complexion of the authors.

LET'S go back a little into the history of the agency. Among the things Merson has spotlighted is this: If so many of the nine thousand U. S. I. A. employees were stricken by fear for their jobs and livelihood, it is small wonder. For the men at the top of the agency were obviously clinging to their jobs, too.

Merson was number two to Robert L. Johnson, who took leave from the presidency of Philadelphia's Temple University in order to conduct the U. S. I. A., or, as it was then called, the I. I. A. Its main functions then as now were operating the Voice of America and some two hundred information-center libraries in about ninety countries and territories. United States overseas libraries contain more than 2,000,000 books and have been visited by at least 36,000,000 for-

SCRUTINEER is the pen name of a New York newspaperman who occasionally covers the Washington scene.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

eigners a year. The $85,000,000-a-year propaganda agency also controls film services, traveling exhibits, lecturers, and exchange students. We are here concerned with the libraries.

These were the object of one of McCarthy's most overheated, wildest performances last year, when he charged that they harbored 30,000 volumes by Communist authors. He produced the names of only 418 of these culprits, among whom were Foster Rhea Dulles, cousin of the Secretary of State, and such anti-Communist liberals as John Dewey, Elmer Davis, Robert M. Hutchins, Sherwood Anderson, Louis Bromfield, Edna Ferber, Carl and Mark Van Doren, and many others. In fact, the list just stopped short of William McKinley.

This was the climate in which Johnson and Merson quickly found themselves gasping for air. They took charge a fortnight after the State Department issued its notorious instruction to the Information Agency: "No material by any Communists, fellow-travelers, et cetera, will be used under any circumstances." They are still trying to discover what an et cetera is in order to be sure to ban his—or is it her or its?—books.

Merson's story is one of pitiful self-degradation. He and Johnson spent weeks figuratively crawling up Capitol Hill on their bellies to curry favor with McCarthy. They failed. For months they were unable to worm their way into the Wisconsin panjandrum's presence. They had to be content with coaxing Messrs. Cohn and Schine to lunches or dinners in the vain hope of quelling McCarthy's agitation against the Information Agency.

They found the White House and State Department toadying to Joe. Mr. Eisenhower's favorite psychological warrior, C. D. Jackson of Time, Inc., answered their S. O. S. with a cool warning that it was "the President's passion not to offend anybody in Congress." They could not get a single Administration leader to protect the United States against being held up to what Merson now admits was "worldwide contempt and ridicule." Johnson and Merson were exhausted and depressed by the futile attempt to feed the insatiable Wisconsin crocodile. They decided to quit.

Before leaving their jobs they published a long policy declaration or deathbed repentance. It revoked previous directives. Its theme song was that each book would be judged on its merits and no longer on the basis of whether its author's great-grandmother liked red caviar or whether in childhood the author himself read "Little Red Riding Hood." It indicated that the blacklist of writers, composers, and books would be abolished. Indeed, a gust of fresh air suddenly swept through the agency's moldy offices. By the end of July, 1953, books for United States overseas libraries were really being chosen according to their content. That was the important thing.

ON AUGUST 5 the agency's new boss, Streibert, former chairman of the board of the Mutual Broadcasting System, took charge. Two weeks later he ordered a retreat from liberalism. He reinstituted security clearance for authors and composers. A central catalogue was established—a combined whitelist and blacklist of writers, artists, and composers. Today there are sixteen large files. They contain about 7,000 names of authors cleared, rejected, or awaiting investigation. The list is constantly expanding.

There is a long-standing, publicly announced order barring from overseas libraries the works of three types of authors: (1) avowed Communists; (2) invokers of the Fifth Amendment; (3) persons convicted of crimes involving the security of the United States. The existence of a fourth category, known in official jargon as "additional data" cases, has never been admitted. This includes all authors against whom

Herblock in the Washington *Post*

"Sometimes I wonder what's in those darn things."

derogatory information has been lodged. It may be, and often is, wholly unverified gossip and slander. It may be a newspaper story putting a writer or musician in an adverse light. It may be an anonymous letter.

Nobody wants the responsibility for approving the books of writers whose names appear on the "additional data" list. Consequently a stop has been put to the U. S. I. A.'s purchase of any works by these writers or composers, pending their screening and clearance.

Existence of this graylist, which is in fact a blacklist, places U. S. I. A. Director Streibert in a strange light. In an interview with *U. S. News and World Report* last March, Streibert declared unreservedly that "books should be judged primarily on their content . . . less attention should be paid to the author." Under his leadership exactly the opposite is being done. The accent more than ever is on snooping into an author's private life and thoughts while disregarding his book's substance.

As recently as September 15, 1954, one of Streibert's aides, Acting Assistant Chief for Operations Parker May, circulated a confidential list of 141 names of authors on whom "additional data" existed. It was labeled "a consolidated list." A few days ago it was recalled from all offices with the explanation that otherwise it might fall into the hands of newsmen.

Alas, Streibert, too late! It had already happened, and here are a few of the 141 names: Henry Seidel Canby, Aaron Copland, Malcolm Cowley, Adolph Dehn, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Martha Foley, Julian Huxley, Saul K. Padover, Dorothy Parker, Frederick L. Schuman, Roger Sessions, Edgar Snow, George Soule, and Victor Yakhontoff. This is a random selection of just 14 of the 141 American—with a Briton here and there—authors, scholars, composers, and artists. The entire list reads like a "Who's Who" in the realm of American culture.

Besides these 141 victims of existing "additional data" there are hundreds of others whose names have been sent to the U. S. I. A.'s security officers for investigation. There they remain buried. As long as they have not been cleared and returned, their works may not be added to the United States libraries abroad. To all purposes, their books,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

Round and Round

music, or paintings are blacklisted. Some of the authors have been awaiting clearance for nineteen months and may well wait indefinitely.

The case of Saul K. Padover, dean of the School of Politics at the New School for Social Research in New York, is an oddity. Under its educational exchange program the State Department engaged Dr. Padover to visit Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, and India and to lecture on history, politics, and economics from August to mid-November, 1953. His talks stirred interest, and requests for his books began to arrive from the countries where he had been speaking. Padover had received the State Department's loyalty and security clearance before being offered the Asian assignment. But his name appears on the U. S. I. A.'s "additional data" list, and therefore his books are barred from American overseas libraries.

THERE are stranger goings-on than this. For instance, some months ago a member of the New York *Times* Washington staff, Dana Adams Schmidt, telephoned the U. S. I. A. to check a rumor that the agency was blacklisting the works of Ernest Hemingway. The reporter's inquiry went to the U. S. I. A.'s deputy director—Merson's successor, Abbott Washburn. Perhaps a vision of headlines floated before Washburn's half-closed eyes: "United States Government Outlaws Hemingway's Books." That would hardly do. There's a limit to just how silly you can look and survive. Washburn nervously called his subordinate, Franklin L. Burdette, chief of the Information Agency service which controls the overseas libraries. Yes, Burdette replied, Hemingway's name is on the "additional data" list, and so purchase of his works for the U. S. I. A. is prohibited. Washburn was cool enough promptly to direct removal of Hemingway's name from the list.

The U. S. I. A. then called back the New York *Times* man and solemnly denied that there was any U. S. I. A. restriction against Hemingway's novels. Dana Schmidt may be annoyed to learn that he missed the news of this little result of his inquiry. But he can derive satisfaction from having restored Ernest Hemingway to respectability, for a while anyhow.

But did he? I have just remembered something that makes me doubt it. Some days ago it was proposed to Burdette that the U. S. I. A. should secure world rights to Hemingway's "The Old Man and the Sea." Burdette turned down the suggestion because there were "additional data" of an undisclosed character concerning Hemingway. So maybe it's A Farewell to Ernest, after all.

Burdette distinguished himself far more impressively in another episode. This concerned something officially described as Expendable Libraries. These are specially-made two-shelf containers that can be put on desks to hold cheap paperback volumes. The U. S. I. A.'s sensible idea was to use this contraption to familiarize foreign peoples with the availability of good books at nominal prices in America.

The Expendable Libraries are given gratis to cultural institutions abroad. The institutions can let readers take these books and either return them or keep them as gifts. The two-shelf paperback collections are also in United States overseas libraries. They come under Burdette, who was a teacher of government at the University of Maryland until he joined the U. S. I. A. via the Republican National Committee in March, 1954.

One afternoon Burdette noticed among the paperbacks a book called "Walden" by someone named Henry Thoreau. Burdette carried the book home and read or skimmed it. That was enough. Returning to the office the next day he announced that "Walden" was downright socialistic! One of his colleagues drew him aside and expostulated. Was Burdette aware that a lot of plain folk as well as scholars consider "Walden" the greatest American classic? It was wasted effort. Burdette ordered "Walden" removed from the Expendable Libraries.

I don't suppose anybody troubled to inform Burdette that 1954 happens to be the hundredth anniversary of "Walden's" appearance. American publishers, magazines, newspapers, schools, and universities have been commemorating the event with intense devotion to the great American who gave us this masterpiece. It remained for a junior and expendable official in Washington to observe the hundredth anniversary of "Walden" by having the book withdrawn from circulation in the United States government's Expendable Libraries.

WITHOUT their knowledge, two well-known American writers of popular books on psychology have been enduring a bumpy passage through the U. S. I. A. sausage machine. They are Harry Allen Overstreet and his wife, Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet. In a statement which Johnson, the retiring director, issued in July, 1953, books by the Overstreets were specifically mentioned as approved for use in American libraries abroad.

Nothing is ever quite that simple in the U. S. I. A., though. For the late Senator Pat McCarran, McCarthy's buddy, had elicited a promise from the U. S. I. A.—or I. I. A., as it then was—that the Overstreet books would never be used in the government's overseas libraries. McCarran just disliked the Overstreets and their works. Nobody seems to know why, but the Senator had power; so that was that.

Books by the Overstreets were already on the libraries' shelves abroad, and the U. S. I. A. was preparing a condensation of Harry Overstreet's "The Mature Mind." It was to be published in translation, and at least one edition was already in print overseas. Suddenly, bingo, a directive was issued ordering that the Overstreet book should not be used. The entire edition in translation was destroyed —physically demolished. Subsequently the Overstreet works received U. S. I. A. approval by special dispensation, as in the Hemingway affair. But this absolution came too late to rescue the destroyed edition of "The Mature Mind." Perhaps to foment a little more chaos, in the past few weeks Burdette has ruled

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the Overstreet books have not been cleared. Thus, while their writings were not removed from the libraries, a ban was put on further government buying of their works.

P. S. to the *Reporter*: The latest "additional data" list circulated confidentially last month inside the U. S. I. A. provisionally blacklists an author whose name is familiar to the *Reporter*. It is Theodore White, who wrote the best-selling book on European politics "Fire in the Ashes" and who is one of the editors of the *Reporter*, with the title of national correspondent.

WORLD IN DEADLOCK

The Story of Western Policy . . *by Konni Zilliacus*

London

THE dead end reached by Anglo-American policy in Western Europe is only a small part of the international picture. It must be seen in the context of deadlock in Korea, defeat in Indo-China, and the military failure of E. D. C., which long preceded its political collapse. This failure is part of a "global" failure of Western defense policy, which has been geared to unattainable objectives based on unreal assumptions. Disillusionment with United States world leadership in non-Communist Europe and Asia has kept pace with the march of untoward events. How great is the collapse of Western policy and how far-reaching and acute the need for "agonizing reappraisal" becomes clear when we step back and look at the whole picture in the perspective of the last few years.

Sir Winston Churchill set the ball rolling on March 4, 1946, at Fulton, Missouri, when he called for the mobilizing and banding together of the military power of the United States, the British Commonwealth, and Western Europe to "contain" communism, which was treated as Soviet expansion and aggression. "What we want," he said, "is not a quivering, precarious balance of power, but an overwhelming assurance of strength."

The foundations of the policy of an Anglo-American line-up to contain communism had been laid during the Second World War. And that policy was the lineal descendant of the British and French policy of anti-Communist intervention and pro-Fascist appeasement which was launched against the Russian and European revolutions during and after the First World War. It was sold to the public as defensive and dictated by necessity. In fact, it always rested on fear and hate so strong as to reject the idea of peaceful coexistence and aim at destroying Communist regimes, meaning thereby any regime actively hostile to the colonial or social order. The policy connived at Hitler's rearmament so as to use Germany as a bulwark against communism. In the resulting war it was suspended because Western Tories, much against their will, had to rely on the Soviet Union as an ally.

But Prime Minister Churchill had begun to apply the policy again in Greece and Italy in 1943 and 1944, against the resistance movements and their political allies, and after 1945 Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin was being led by his officials down the cold-war garden path. The Fulton speech was the first full-blooded, "global" proclamation of the policy of "containment," and it was with some justice that Churchill later claimed to be the father of both British Labor's and the United States' foreign policy.

For four years after the war Sir Winston Churchill led a campaign based on two assumptions and drawing one conclusion. His assumptions were (a) that communism was a mortal enemy, so fundamentally and unalterably hostile that no peaceful coexistence based on a recognition of common interests was possible, force being the only argument that would be recognized as valid; and (b) that the West, thanks to the United States' monopoly of the atomic bomb, which in those days was believed to be an all-powerful weapon that could compel instant surrender, possessed a decisive preponderance of force.

The conclusion from these premises was that we must have a showdown with the Soviet Union quickly, before it was too late, and use the threat of the atomic bomb to impose our will on the Russians and roll communism back from Eastern Europe to the Soviet frontier.

THE United States did not swing officially into line until a year after Churchill's Fulton speech, when President Truman applied the "containment" policy to Greece in his message to Congress of March, 1947. He revealed the policy's social roots in a passage which the New York *Herald Tribune* headlined: "President Says Americans Value Free Enterprise More Than Peace." "There is one thing," he said, "that Americans value more than peace. It is freedom. Freedom of worship, freedom of speech, and freedom of enterprise. The pattern of international trade which is most conducive to freedom of enterprise is one in which major decisions are made not by governments but by private buyers and sellers."

A few months later, in July, 1947, George F. Kennan, then head of the policy-planning staff of the State Department and its leading Russian expert, published his famous Mr. X article in *Foreign Affairs*, in which he discussed the methods, formulated the premises, and revealed the political aims of "containment." Mr. Kennan was less optimistic in his estimate of the current relative strength of the West and the Soviet Union and therefore more cautious in his methods than Sir Winston—he looked forward to a long cold war rather than a

KONNI ZILLIACUS, for many years a dominant figure in the left wing of the British Labor Party, is the author of a number of books on British and international politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

quick showdown. But he was just as intransigent in rejecting the very idea of peaceful coexistence based on common interests in promoting trade and preventing war, and even more ambitious in his political aim.

In his 1948 message to Congress President Truman extended anti-Communist containment to cover the whole

Sir Winston Churchill

world and said it was also the duty of the United States to protect countries menaced by communism against "internal aggression."

In Europe, NATO and the idea of arming Western Germany within a West European military alliance had been born, with "made in America" written into their birth certificates.

By the autumn of 1949 three things had happened: first, it was dawning on Western military authorities that the atomic bomb, in the state of development it had then reached, could not win a war against a country like the Soviet Union unless backed by great land and air forces. Secondly, it was discovered that the Soviet Union now also possessed the atomic bomb. Thirdly, the Chinese Communists, single-handed and without Russian aid, won the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek in spite of massive logistic support from the United States. That was the beginning of the great change. General Leslie Groves, chief of the United States Atomic Development Project, 1942-47, told the London *Star* (December 14, 1949) that the next war would be fought between Russia and America. The only way of opposing Russia was by using atom bombs against its main cities, industries, airfields, and military centers. Americans were confident that in a "long-range atomic slugging match between the two big powers" they would win. But Groves did not think England could survive an atomic blitz for more than a week: its ports would be blasted and sealed off, its industrial centers and cities smashed, the survivors would face starvation. But, he paradoxically insisted, the United States could not fight Russia without using Britain as a base.

ON November 30, 1950, Sir Winston Churchill told the House of Commons that we were now so far behind the Russians in conventional arms that even if we pressed on more rapidly with preparations for an Atlantic army and West European army, including a German contingent, "a long period must elapse before they could offset the Russian superiority, even if the Russian strength itself were not increased meanwhile."

In March, 1953, a leading British military critic, Captain Liddell Hart, explained in an article in the Manchester *Guardian* that the projected West European force was so far behind schedule that it would take years to catch up with the Russians, even if they did no further rearming. Militarily the whole scheme was a failure and it would be logical, since half-measures were useless, to stop throwing good money after bad. But the moral shock to public opinion of abandoning it would be so great, and the possible economic and political consequences so serious, that it was better to go on pretending.

Meanwhile the two-years war in Korea and the nine-years war in Indo-China were an object lesson in the military effort and expenditure required by anti-Communist "containment" even on the fringes of Asia, and in the ultimate futility and risks of the whole policy. The widening rift between the United States and its European allies and the alienation of most of the Asian nations are only the first instalments of the political cost.

The Republican Administration and Congress have stepped up "containment" to mean "dynamic containment" or "liberation," expressed in boycotts, support of Chiang Kai-shek, the barely frustrated attempt of Admiral Radford to drop atomic bombs on Dienbienphu, and the methods used in Guatemala and Quemoy. Britain and France want trade and peace with the Asian nations and, as they showed at Geneva, may be driven to get them without and in spite of the United States.

On July 14, 1954, Sir Winston Churchill told the House of Commons that the Western alliance could, on a hypothetical D-plus-thirty day, dispose of strength in the forward areas of Europe of well over 100 divisions. The Soviet Union and its European allies could by that date put 400 divisions into the field. He did not think the question of 12 German divisions should be given undue importance in that situation. This calculation, made without considering the man-power of China's 600,000,000 population, explains why the "new look" strategy frankly concedes defeat if both sides fight with "conventional" arms, and pins its faith to A- and H-bombs.

But the West now knows that the Soviet Union possesses both, as well as the long-range, fast stratosphere jet bombers to deliver them. We also know that the latest H-bomb is more than two thousand times as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb. What is the use, said Jules Moch, the Socialist *rapporteur* on E. D. C., to the French National Assembly, of talking about twelve German divisions, when fifteen H-bombs could wipe out France. A dozen could perform the same office for this little island.

Some fanatics, like Lord Esher, may claim they prefer "vaporization to communization." But they do not include Sir Winston Churchill, who told the House on July 14 that he was for peaceful coexistence because "the appalling character which war has now assumed and its fearful consequences go even beyond the difficulties and danger of living side by side with Communist states."

This is increasingly the mood of the British and West European peoples and of the German people too, to judge by the Socialist victory in the Schleswig-Holstein election on their program of a four-power conference to discuss German unification and European security. The whole policy of anti-Communist containment plus liberation is slipping and crumbling. The West has never possessed the power to make it stick and is farther off than ever from that goal. America's allies are ceasing to follow it on that path and may yet do in Europe what they did at Geneva.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"DYNAMIC" HOUSING

Record of the G. O. P. . . *by Helen L. Alfred*

WHEN the President signed the Housing Act of 1954 he referred to it as a "dynamic housing program." But longtime friends of public housing refer to it as an act to scuttle the public-housing program and to bail the landlords and their bankers out of the slums.

The program was inaugurated early in President Roosevelt's term of office in part as a means of stimulating construction and employment during the depression. Under the Housing Act of 1937 new homes were built for more than 700,000 low-income families. Projects were undertaken in more than a thousand localities. Local housing authorities eradicated 200,000 slum dwellings.

During President Truman's Administration the program was stepped up. The Housing Act of 1949 authorized federal-local contracts for the construction of 810,000 additional family dwelling units—135,000 units annually for the six-year period 1949-55. Then came the Korean war, with its heavy demands on the supply of labor and materials. The traditional foes of public housing—the real-estate boards, building-and-loan associations, and other private home-finance institutions—intensified their efforts against any further slum clearance. But by the end of 1952, despite war conditions and the mounting opposition, contracts had been entered into, with President Truman's approval, for more than 350,000 new low-rent dwellings.

When General Eisenhower became President, nearly 450,000 units of the 1949 program were still technically on the books. But the Republicans chose to ignore the mandate of Congress. In July, 1953, passage of the First Independent Offices Appropriations Act slashed the program for the fiscal year 1954 to 20,000 units.

HELEN L. ALFRED was one of the founders of the National Public Housing Conference (now known as the National Housing Conference) and served as its executive director for thirteen years.

The President then appointed an advisory committee on government housing policies and programs which consisted largely of opponents of public housing. On the basis of the committee's recommendations and in the face of the urgent needs of the country's ill-housed millions, an omnibus public-housing and private-home-finance bill introduced by the Administration proposed that public housing be cut back to 35,000 new units annually, or to a total of 140,000 units during the next four years. This bill was defeated by the President's own party. When it was brought to a vote in the House, 156 of the 211 votes against the public-housing section were Republican.

A long battle in Congress followed. The arguments of the real-estate lobby to end public housing for all time were echoed on the floor of both houses. The program that finally emerged from the Senate and House conference committee authorized 35,000 additional dwelling units for the next fiscal year but made no reference to the following years. Thus the 1954 act not only cut the low-rent public-housing program to the bone but prevented planning for the future.

Local housing authorities, moreover, now find stop signs and road blocks in their way when they undertake even this reduced program. In its declaration of principles the 1937 act gave first consideration to the rehousing of low-income families living in substandard dwellings. Clearance and rehousing were recognized as interdependent responsibilities of the local housing authorities. Under the 1954 amendments rehousing of these families is considered last. The first concern seems to be property values. No new contracts for federal loans, annual contributions, or capital grants-in-aid may be entered into except with respect to low-rent public-housing projects to be built in a community in which an urban slum-clearance and urban-redevelopment program has been undertaken. Nor may a local housing authority initiate a project for low-income families with federal assistance unless the local governing body certifies that such a project is necessary for the relocation of families displaced by a slum-clearance program. If a project is approved on this basis, the local authority is allowed to build no more new dwelling units—whether with federal, state, or local aid—than are required for the rehousing of such families.

Of the more than 1,000 communities now being served by local housing authorities, 586 have populations of 5,000 or under, 604 of from 5,000 to 100,000, and 91 of 100,000 and over. Only two or three of the larger cities in this last category can qualify for low-rent projects under the limitations of the current act. Commenting on the probable delay that would result from the restrictions approved by the Senate and House conference committee, Representative Albert Rain, Democrat, of Alabama, said: "If your community is one that does not now have the slum clearance under way . . . and your community were to take action immediately to qualify, it would take a minimum of two years to be in a position to take advantage of the housing provisions in the conference report."

FORTUNATELY, there is reason to believe that despite the Administration's insensitivity to the importance of public housing the foes of the program will finally yield. For one thing, the need for modern low-rent homes is too urgent and widespread to be ignored. The 1950 housing census of the Department of Commerce, covering nearly 46,000,000 dwelling units in urban, rural farm, and rural non-farm areas, disclosed that 15,000,000 dwellings in this plumbing-proud land lacked a flush toilet, nearly 14,000,000 were without private bathtub or shower, and more than 6,000,000 had no running water inside or outside. In 2,200,000 units without plumbing married couples had doubled up, with serious overcrowding.

Because of their population density

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and high land coverage the urban slums of the United States have been rated among the worst in the Western world. The New York City Housing Authority reports that in Greater New York, "as a result of the failure to maintain an adequate building rate," 426,792 apartments in "old-law tenements" were still on the market and in use in 1952. These ancient rookeries were below the minimum standard established for new construction by the New York State tenement-house law of 1901. Yet more than fifty years later, nearly 2,000,000 men, women, and children were obliged to call them "home."

The Eisenhower Administration places major reliance on homes built by private enterprise for sale. These will become available, it declares, now that the federal government is assuming more of the risk through loan insurance and mortgage guaranties and now that financial terms have been made easier. Boris Shishkin, secretary of the housing committee of the A. F. of L., expressing the conviction of organized labor in general, believes this to be a serious error in judgment. In his appearance before the House Committee on Banking and Currency earlier this year Mr. Shishkin criticized the Administration's proposal to have the Federal Housing Administration insure 100 per cent loans for forty years on homes to sell for $7,000, as a means of rehousing former slum residents. He stated that the purchase of a $7,000 house would require an expenditure of $62.50 a month for housing, and added, "This is twice as much as low-income families in most cities can afford to pay. . . . In 1952, the latest year for which figures are available, only families with incomes of more than $5,000 a year could afford to meet monthly housing expenses for the average F. H. A. house or apartment."

James B. Thimmes, chairman of the C. I. O. housing committee, testified at the same hearing that 10,000,000 American families were earning less than $3,000 and 8,000,000 less than $2,500. "This is the segment of our population," Mr. Thimmes said, "whose housing need is the most urgent because it is so largely made up of occupants of substandard dwellings."

Finally, and perhaps this is the most accurate gauge of the value of any public service, public housing has wide popular support. Various national organizations have submitted to the President and Congress estimates of the minimum program required. The National Housing Conference some years ago urged that local housing authorities receive federal aid in building 150,000 dwelling units each year for a period of at least ten years. The A. F. of L. and C. I. O. and the A. D. A. would have the nation try to rehouse 200,000 low-income families a year until the need was filled. These and many other influential groups can now be expected to join forces and submit to the President and the next Congress a new set of amendments to the Housing Act of 1937 that will be commensurate with the needs of low-income families. A people's housing lobby, working chiefly in Washington but seeking supplemental aid from state legislatures and local bodies, seems more necessary than ever before.

The strength of popular opinion favorable to public housing will undoubtedly be clearly registered in the coming elections. When the millions of men and women who are gravely concerned over the conditions in which their own families live go to the polls, they are likely to be more influenced by the Republican cutback of the housing program than by any other issue.

UNIONS AND POLITICS

Anglo-American Contrasts . . *by Paul L. Phillips*

THE United States does not have a "labor movement," at least not in the full sense of the term. A true labor movement consists, as in Britain, of trade unions, political party, and cooperatives. Lacking a party the American labor movement emphasizes collective bargaining rather than political action. American trade unions have to win almost all their benefits through negotiations with the employers. The British obtain them through legislation. Coordinated political action by labor groups in the United States has been extremely hard to achieve. There are scarcely any ties, for example, binding together factory, white-collar, and agricultural workers.

Industry in America, moreover, is on the threshold of a second "industrial revolution" brought on by the development of what is called "automation." As a result of the spread of this "push-button" control over manufacturing processes, manual workers will in all likelihood decrease in proportion to the total labor force in the next few years and white-collar workers will increase.

As for consumers, this group has no effective voice in the United States. There are some cooperatives, but very few compared with the number in England, and these few are widely scattered geographically and representative of disparate groups. They have not yet developed any political or economic ties with the trade unions.

But the greatest obstacle to the building of a true labor movement in the United States has been the lack of unity and cooperation among the trade unions themselves. Every union has complete autonomy and exercises the democratic right to make its own decisions, political and economic. This democracy does not come cheap: the price is a certain amount of confusion and disunity. Being divided, labor in the United States is

PAUL L. PHILLIPS is president of the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers, A. F. of L. This article is based on his recent address to the British Trade Union Congress.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

politically weak. This is not to say it is impotent. On occasion, when thoroughly aroused, the workers have effectively united for a political purpose. But such action is unfortunately the exception rather than the rule.

In practically all political elections workers must have a score card to distinguish their friends from their enemies. No candidates belong to a party or political organization around whose banner and principles labor rallies as a matter of course. This situation is largely the result of a widespread and deep-seated prejudice against direct political action. And the prejudice in turn is a legacy of Samuel Gompers's admonitions to workers to rely on delayed timing in political action, to gain their ends by rewarding their friends and defeating their enemies —an impractical method today.

For these reasons American labor can usually bring no concerted pressure to bear when important issues are at stake. Whereas British labor accepts as self-evident the benefits derived from the nationalization of the power industry, in the United States we are finding it difficult to hold on to the 20 per cent of our power industry which is publicly owned. Even the Conservatives in England appear to embrace national health insurance. Here the idea is under constant attack, and Congress has refused to permit the government to go so far as to reinsure private health-insurance plans. The British government has decided to retain full control of atomic energy, but the United States government is handing over this control to private monopolies.

On all these questions as on many others the American trade unions are divided, the extent of the division varying of course from issue to issue. Handicapped further by the absence of any effective working arrangement with other groups, American labor is constrained to measure political success by negative instead of positive results. We consider it a victory today when we are able to prevent the passage of a bad law.

ON THE economic front progress has been considerably faster, though by no means at express-train speed, and it was almost stopped by a business recession early this year. In June, 1954, unemployment had reached serious proportions: three and a third million persons were without a job, more than double the number unemployed in 1953, and these figures do not include persons working reduced hours per week. Farm income also declined in 1953 and has continued to decline so far this year. Recent legislation lowering government price supports for basic crops may mean still greater income loss. Employment in construction, finance, and government has increased over 1953, but in mining a continuing decline now amounts to more than 12 per cent.

Despite the slump in the economy, the unions have continued to negotiate wage increases and higher fringe benefits; only in a few scattered instances, mostly in textiles, have there been wage reductions. Construction workers have obtained substantial increases, but smaller ones than a year ago. The same is true of the durable-goods industries. In the paper industry increases have averaged roughly 5 cents an hour. Since the cost of living has remained practically unchanged during this time, the gain in real wages is encouraging.

American labor has not been able to use tax legislation to correct inequities in the distribution of national income. On the contrary, in terms of purchasing power, labor is not sure it can hold on to the increases won in collective bargaining.

The people of the United States are faced with a rapidly growing concentration of economic power—and hence political power. The big companies are getting bigger, and the small companies are being merged in the big companies. Already 1954 is spoken of as the Year of the Big Merger. A case in point is automobiles. The recent merger of Studebaker and Packard eliminated the last of the independents. In most other industries economic difficulties are forcing numerous mergers.

THE trade unions have had only nominal success in devising counter-measures to protect the people as a whole against this accumulating wealth and power. But the full picture is not so discouraging as some may think. Unions which have long been bitter rivals are gradually moving toward united effort in dealing with employers. Two recent examples of this are the joint negotiations in the meatpacking industry and a joint strike against the West Coast lumber industry. The trend toward cooperation is in accord with the general understanding that the signing of the no-raid pact was really the first step toward the organic unity of the two national federations. If solidarity can be achieved, we can expect some day to see a true labor movement in the United States.

On the political front, when the nature of the issue has made a united effort possible, it has been successful. Thus social-security benefits were increased and the so-called "millionaires' amendment" to the tax program was defeated.

The political arm of the A. F. of L., Labor's League for Political Education, has been expanded by the setting up of permanent regional offices with a full-time staff. Its activities have not been the deciding factor in national elections, but its success in scattered areas has amply demonstrated its potential effectiveness. The political-education program has developed a growing worker consciousness that government can render aid in an economic crisis and help cure economic ills, such as unemployment, unfair taxa-

October, 1954

Now the time of year has come for the leaves to be burning.
October, and the month fills me with grief
For the girl who used to run with the black dogs through them,
Singing, before they burned. Light as a leaf
Her heart, and her mouth red as the sumac turning.

Oh, girl, come back to tell them with your bell-like singing
That you are this figure who stands alone, watching the dead leaves burn.
(The wind is high in the trees, and the clang of bluejay voices ringing
Turns the air to metal. This is not a month for anyone who grieves.)
For they would say that a witch had passed in fury if I should turn,
Gray-haired and brooding, and run now as I once ran through the leaves.

KAY BOYLE

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, and so on. The next serious depression can be expected to produce a vigorous political organization. The worker is becoming aware that his failure to take an active interest in politics can affect the welfare of himself and his union. He has seen laws enacted which take money out of his pay envelope faster than his union can put it in. He has seen states put severe restrictions upon his union.

Broadly speaking, the unions are gaining ground: the American worker today enjoys a higher standard of living than did his father or his grandfather, and it should be higher tomorrow. On the record the American economy has grown at the rate of 3½ per cent a year over a long period. It must continue to go forward; and the workers cannot relax their efforts to share in the benefits of that growth.

RAYMOND ROBINS, CRUSADER

[Raymond Robins, who died September 26 at his Florida home, played a key role in early American-Soviet relations as head of the American Red Cross mission to Moscow in 1917-18. Appreciations of the man and his work are presented here by two friends: Albert Rhys Williams, author of "Through the Russian Revolution," one of the early important books on the Russian revolution, who met Robins in Moscow; and William Appleman Williams, author of "American-Soviet Relations, 1791-1947," who is editing Robins's papers for publication.]

The Outdoor Mind

BY WILLIAM A. WILLIAMS

WE SHALL bury him and remember him as Raymond Robins.

Courage and integrity were his unspoken names.

He was a deep, deep breath of the hopes and a cannonade of the conscience of his time.

He was a man without a country. He had pledged his loyalty to man. His one mortal fear was that America would fail to serve that flag.

For fifteen years he fought a delaying action with death to help justice, tolerance, and freedom get to higher ground. That battle was to him but one more campaign in the war against poverty, greed, and conquest that he began when he organized a strike in a Tennessee coal mine at the age of seventeen. There in that mine, both going to work and quitting while the stars were on, seeing the sun one day a month, he became a man before his time. So he was tense and impatient, harried and worried, and sometimes scared that America would never cease to be a child.

But he never lost his faith in man. Digging coal, he uncovered a creed. The only answer to the demand for a better human life is a better human life. This became the pick with which he chipped away at cant, hypocrisy, and cynicism for the next fifty years. It was a tool he liked to call the "outdoor mind."

Do not misunderstand. He never ceased to be a man. He touched the soft curves of success and sipped a mild wine of fortune. He managed William Jennings Bryan's campaign of 1896 in the city and county of San Francisco. It was the only city north of nineteenth-century slavery that the Boy Orator won. And as he said, laughing back over his own seduction, Robins was just young enough and his clothes just new enough to convince him that he had done it all alone. The next morning he stood on one of those lusty, windy, cocky corners of Market Street and flipped a mental coin. Hire out to the Southern Pacific? Or buy a ticket to the raffle of Alaskan gold? Accept a slot and ride without a name—or sift a sand box for the chance to be a man?

Robins got his chance. Not paid for with gold but with the fright that comes to all men who almost abandon their ideals—but don't. He watched another man risk death by freezing to save a weaker soul while he stayed in the safety of the crowd. Robins asked him why he did it. "Because, I guess, it's what I thought Jesus Christ would have done." That was the first lesson in Robins's education for Christian socialism.

He got the rest in Chicago, Moscow, and Washington. The brawling, bloody Seventeenth Ward took him to its heart. But the big boys mistook him for a playboy courting reform. They slugged him and rolled him in the gutter for daring to run a day-wage mason for mayor. He got up and elected the man. He fought to build better schools and to hire policemen to protect the poor. He defended the Chicago anarchists in the hysteria after the assassination of President McKinley. Clarence Darrow had turned them down. And he helped build the Progressive Party that Theodore Roosevelt led and later was to destroy.

In Moscow he learned that you can learn from men with whom you disagree. And that you can live with governments, if not with women, you do not love. He saw the Bolshevik revolution not as the future working but as the desperately striving and hopeful revolt of a Seventeenth Ward on the national level. It was to him a noble effort that challenged America to accept its obligations as well as exploit its opportunities. He wanted to work with it, as he had worked with men in Alaska and Chicago. He also knew, and warned, that America could not get the chance to achieve its own ideals without help from Russia against Germany and Japan.

The Great Depression convinced him that refusing to let men starve was not enough. It was necessary to plan the jobs instead of organizing bread lines and making work. The dignity of man, he knew, lasts not very long when crisis follows crisis. He worried, too, about giving more and more power to men who were not sure for what purposes, or to what consequences, they used it. He had heard too much music played by ear to like the idea being taken up as a philosophy of government. So he reread Keynes and peeped into Toynbee and looked hard again at the Bible. It

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seemed to him that it was time for America to substitute for the myth of the frontier a Christian democratic socialism.

His sophisticated critics scorned him as naive. His enemies hinted he was worse, but wore the mask of cowardice when cornered by the facts.

He did believe in man.

If for this he be accused of sin, let the plaintiffs specify the charge.

Sword and Bible

BY ALBERT RHYS WILLIAMS

I FIRST heard of Raymond Robins as a crusader in lineal descent from the Ironsides of Cromwell—sword in one hand, Bible in the other.

Soon after his arrival in Russia in August, 1917, with the American Red Cross mission which he later headed, I was his guest in a big restaurant. When dancing girls in scant attire sallied out on the floor to the strains of the Marseillaise, Robins resolutely turned his back. He neither smoked nor drank: "Why stimulants when life itself is so exciting?" Later, in tense sleepless moments of the revolution, he was gulping down coffee; he was almost a chain coffee drinker. I twitted him about it, and with a humorous glint in his eyes he queried, "Anything against coffee in the Bible?"

Of all the foreign emissaries coming to Russia no one was better equipped in temper and training to understand and appraise the situation. A life-long fighter —with Ickes in the crusade against the corrupt bosses of Chicago; beside his wife and her sister, Mary Dreier, organizing the sweated trades; with Theodore Roosevelt at Armageddon battling for the Lord—Robins was in his element amid the fervid oratory, the clashing factions and intrigues of a land in the throes of a great revolution.

Turning from the rumors and gossip of embassies and palaces, he went out to hear what the people were saying in the factories, barracks, and straw-thatched villages. He found them in ferment and rebellion, like the insurgent masses of Asia and Africa today in revolt against age-old hunger, inhuman drudgery, and war. In the thousands of Soviets that sprang up spontaneously all over the vast Eurasian plain he found soldiers, workers, and peasants arguing, working, pressing forward toward their long cherished goals—land, peace, a new social order.

He came back to Petrograd to declare that the revolution was uppermost in the minds and hearts of more than 90 per cent of the people; it was the "social binder" holding them together; it was the big thing and the Allies must deal with it realistically. To most of the diplomats and generals this was akin to treason. They saw the revolution as some inexplicable act of God, largely carried out by evil men, fanatics, and German agents. Robins said they were indulging in fantasies and that policies based on those fantasies would lead to disaster.

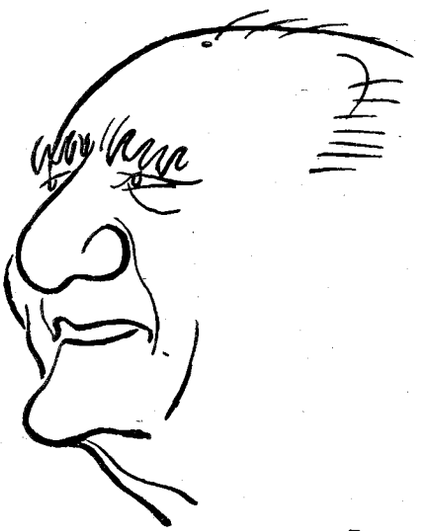
When they conjured up ways to repress or strangle the revolution, Robins said, "As well try to put the genie back in a bottle or push back the rising tide." When they backed the Cossack General Kornilov as the Man on Horseback to ride down the rabble with whip and sword, Robins acidly remarked, "Why, he hasn't even a horse!" That was almost literally true. Many of Kornilov's Cossack horsemen, capitulating to the arguments, pleas, and bayonets of the revolution, refused to move against the Soviets.

Rapidly growing in power and prestige, acting more and more like a government, the Soviets on the momentous night of November 7 became the government. With derisive cries of "Caliphs of the passing hour," the opponents of the Soviets predicted they would last a few days, at most a few weeks. Robins stoutly maintained, "They are here to stay," basing his conviction on his knowledge of the people and their past, the efficiency of the Bolsheviks, as ruthless with others as with themselves, the ineptitude of their enemies.

Students of Russia today tend to concur in this appraisal: the Menshevik Dan traces the roots of Bolshevism into the deep Russian past, and Florinsky in his recent history comments on its "inevitability." Just as wit is saying on the spot what one thinks of tomorrow, Robins showed real wisdom in declaring amid the turmoil of a great revolution what historians in their quiet studies discovered long after.

As Robins insisted on the stability of the Soviets he was assailed with scathing epithets; he was even called a Bolshevik himself, though up till now he had zealously fought the Bolsheviks and as a liberal capitalist was antagonistic to their basic principles. But Robins knew a revolution when he saw one, and pursuing unperturbed the main objective of his mission—by any means to keep Russia in the war against the Germans—he "followed the bayonets" to the Soviet center of power and negotiated effectively with Lenin to have the Soviets continue the war. In this he was backed by his confrères—the millionaire William Boyce Thompson, Allen Wardwell, Alex Gumberg, Judge Thacher, and General Judson, all now converted to Robins's plan for a working arrangement with the Soviets.

But the Allies would have none of it. Instead they chose intervention with all



Berger

Raymond Robins

its tragic consequences—the killing of thousands of the ablest and sincerest young Russians, the authoritarian cast impressed on the Soviets in those early formative years by the harsh, arbitrary measures of war, the evil heritage of mutual bitterness and suspicion that now bedevils the peace of the world.

Happily, peoples take heed of favors rendered as of evils inflicted upon them. The services of Lafayette in the dark days of our revolution created in the hearts of Americans a lasting fund of gratitude and good-will to France. So the sympathy of Raymond Robins for the Russians during the ordeals of their revolution will long continue to work toward the great objective of his life, a spirit of accommodation and cooperation between the two great countries, so imperative in this atomic age if the peoples of the world are to have a good life, or perhaps any life at all.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS

Legacy of Wounded Pride

ASIA AND WESTERN DOMINANCE. By K. M. Panikkar. The John Day Company. $7.50.

AN AMERICAN IN INDIA. By Saunders Redding. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.

By Edgar Snow

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU is said to have sent personal memos to his government officials abroad urging them to read this important recent book by K. M. Panikkar, one of India's brilliant diplomat-historians. Someone should pass along the advice to our own foreign-service officers—with Saunders Redding's unique book suggested as a companion volume.

Mr. Panikkar's scope of study is ambitious, covering the 450 years from the arrival of Vasco de Gama in Calicut in 1498 to the British withdrawal from India and the collapse of Western prestige in China in 1949—years which constitute a "clearly marked epoch of history." India is his starting point, but his survey extends to practically all Eastern countries. He is probably the first Asian to bring together the salient facts of conflict and power in this huge area of time and geography and to try to organize them on the broad canvas of an Asian historical perspective.

"The imposition of a commercial economy on the peoples of Asia and the gradual revolution in almost every aspect of life that it brought about constituted the dominant features of Europe's relations with Asia." Maritime control was first imposed to stabilize and extend coastal trade; political conquest accompanied the opening and enlargement of interior markets. The "doctrine of racialism and European solidarity against the Asians," though it came only in the nineteenth century, was also dictated by economic needs, those of the later imperialist system, just as the attempt to Christianize the East was "synchronized," Panikkar thinks, with "Western political supremacy."

In the author's arrangement 1750 is fixed as the end of the Age of Expansion and the beginning—with power seized by the East India Company in Bengal—of the Age of Conquest. In 1858 the British are entering the Age of Empire in India and throughout Asia—with smaller portions of the continent and its islands here and there falling to France, Holland, Germany, Portugal, Russia, and the United States. There follows a section describing the Recovery of Asia through the rise of nationalism, first in Japan, then in India, China, and the lesser countries. In his account of events and their causations the author appears thoroughly at home in the Indian scene, but he is not always so successful when he turns to other lands for material that parallels or confirms the Hindu experience. This is particularly true of his emphasis on religious conflict. At the end of a long summary of missionary efforts to evangelize Asia he concludes that they ended in complete failure.

HAVING satisfied himself in that verdict, Panikkar concedes that the bee has fertilized the flower it robbed. His last chapter lists many features of "Western civilization" deemed likely to abide in Asia. "Western dominance," is found to have inspired "Asian reform movements," including a Hindu reformation, and "policies of education, welfare schemes, and even political training." It introduced "not merely the first conception of the modern state to the Asian mind but equipped it with the mechanism necessary to realize it in time." The "great nation states" of Asia, themselves "of a kind unknown in previous history," came "directly out of Europe's long domination" and its "integration of vast territories." Republicanism supplanted the monarchical "Oriental despotism," and organized labor emerged as a new social force. Modern cities arose and with them a wholly new "civic tradition."

Five centuries of Moslem rule failed to change Hindu social ideas, but "as a result of contact with the West untouchability has been abolished and caste no longer is king in India"—while China has seen Confucius dethroned. A "truly magnificent legal structure" brought India wholly new concepts of justice and equality and infinitely raised the status of women. In greater or lesser degree this is true throughout Asia, where Western power also introduced the veritable new universe of modern science. Languages have been enriched and nationally unified. New art forms have developed which "owe little or nothing to earlier traditions."

Panikkar attributes all those innovations to "Western dominance," apparently seen as something organically independent of the moral-political impact of Christian doctrine. Similarly his analysis of communism in Asia fails to examine Marxism as a lineal descendant of Judeo-Christian dogma—a heretical one now no doubt, but no less challenging to Oriental faiths than early Christian missionaries. If, as Panikkar stresses, Christianity failed because "the doctrine of the monopoly of truth and revelation is altogether alien to the Asian mind," then there would be no chance for Communist dogma to make converts, either. And yet it is moving into precisely that lacuna left in the Asian mind by decaying faith in traditional religious or religio-philosophical systems from Korea to Iran.

The relations of Asia with the U. S. S. R. and the United States are viewed as "altogether different" from those with Europe, and Panikkar dismisses America in a few lines. Russia and the impact of the Russian revolution are studied more extensively. The author's judgment that Russia "alone among the European states, during her three hundred years of contact with the Chinese, never had to resort to war" and "did not resort to coercive measures" would doubtless startle Lenin—not to mention many Chinese and Japanese, as well as Western, students.

ONE could point out other sins of omission, and minor factual errors, but these little diminish the chief service of Panikkar's work—which is to present this period of history in terms generally accepted as objective among Asian intellectuals today. Consider, for ex-

EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star over China," "The Pattern of Soviet Power," and other books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ample, the author's reasons for feeling that Russia is "altogether different" from other Western countries. First and last this is because Russia is organically part of Asia—geographically, culturally, racially. For centuries ruled by Tartars, it has Asian blood as well as Asian history and tradition in its heritage. Russia never "shared the European feeling of superiority in her relations with Asian peoples." Always it treated them "as equals in every respect" and after the October revolution further won Asia's confidence by returning to China some of the fruits of past aggression.

Contradictions in the foregoing picture are less important than the fact that this is history as it looks to Panikkar and apparently also to Nehru—both of them gentle, learned, and eminently reasonable men. Furthermore, the heart of this friendly feeling is the perfectly viable truth that Russia's relations with Far Asia exhibit few of the racial, color, cultural, and national superiority pretensions which poisoned the past century of "Western dominance"—and left behind a legacy of wounded pride and hate now being fully exploited by the Communists.

PAINFUL encounters with that intolerance bred by intolerance are the main burden of Saunders Redding's story of India. His book covers a study of weeks compared to Panikkar's review of centuries, but in its way it is quite as meaningful. A graduate of Brown and a gifted author and instructor in English literature at Hampton Institute, Mr. Redding responded to a State Department request that he make a speaking tour in India. In many cities he talked formally and informally about America to hundreds of students, educators, writers, scientists, and officials, and sought to learn what he could of Indian views. He is an anti-Communist himself, but it was no part of his job to try to win India away from "neutralism."

"Let me make it clear to you," Redding quotes former Ambassador Bowles as briefing him on his arrival in Delhi. "We don't want India to take sides with the United States. . . . While neutrality serves her own best interests . . . it's serving ours." That sounds strictly irreconcilable with Secretary Dulles's recent activities in South Asia, and Redding found Indians far from convinced, too. Among them he met suspicion and open hostility to America as a materialistic, aggressive, imperialist power dominated by McCarthys, racketeers, cultural oafs, and A-bomb enthusiasts, threatening India and all Asia with renewed enslavement. To many Indians it seemed incredible that Redding, a Negro, did not fully share their views.

It was perhaps naive of him to expect to be received simply as an American. To his dismay Indians regarded him as first of all a colored man. Keenly aware of the Negro's ordeal in achieving his native heritage and civic rights in America, Redding nevertheless felt compelled to defend his country against repeated slanders and distorted or obsolete notions of racial oppression here.

"I do not wish to oversimplify emotional and psychological matters of great complexity," he writes, "but many Indians were color-conscious to a degree completely unimaginable even to American Negroes. It seemed impossible for these Indians to conceive of a dark-skinned American as being other than an enemy of white, or of having a loyalty that goes beyond color. I was asked more than once whether the Negro community of America would join with the colored peoples of the world in a war against the white man. If the question was plainly theoretical and diagnostic, the color-consciousness in which it was conceived was not, and this color-consciousness, as involuted as all unnatural drives, was for some Indians the matrix of the new nationalism in the East."

Badgered and often insulted by student and even faculty interrogators invincibly armed with misinformation, Redding found his own weapon—the truth as he knew it from personal knowledge and experience—quite inadequate to cope with prejudice convinced of its infallibility. He relates all this more in puzzlement than rancor. His story is told with the eyes and ears of a skilled novelist, and the personalities he meets emerge as real and vivid, if often baffling, people. He gives the impression of being honest and accurate in reporting what little he saw of progress made under the Indian government, and he warmly acknowledges generosity and good-will wherever he encountered it. He does not fail to point out shortcomings of individual Americans abroad and their offenses against good manners and good relations. But it is not probable that such indications of objectivity in his report will make it any more palatable to Indian sensibilities.

IT WILL be said that Redding was poorly equipped to interpret India, lacked the background necessary to understand nationalist passions rooted in ancient wrongs, and did not stay long enough to grow to love India and see its present turbulent transition in balanced perspective. That may be true. Yet his particular experience is something no white American could duplicate, however long he lived among Indians, and hence is valid and significant.

On the other hand, the failure of this attempt to modify hostile Indian opinion about this country by sending a writer there to speak of American literature raises the question whether officially sponsored tours of this nature do not do more harm than good. For one thing, as long as our literary exports consist so largely of comic books, pornography, crime fiction for sex morons and psychopaths, and sensational periodicals featuring bellicose or patronizing articles offensive to foreigners, it is unfair to expect a few cultural envoys to repair the damage.

Redding himself points out that he never met an Indian who had lived in America who did not wish to return

BOOK MANUSCRIPTS INVITED

If you are looking for a publisher, send for our free, illustrated booklet titled *To the Author in Search of a Publisher*. It tells how we can publish, promote and distribute your book, as we have done for hundreds of other writers. All subjects considered. New authors welcomed. Write today for Booklet 103. It's free.

VANTAGE PRESS, 120 West 31 St., New York 1
In Calif.: 6253 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
833 SIXTH AVENUE NEW YORK 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

here. At the same time that he was being needled by Communist-led students carrying "Go Home American" signs he was furtively visited by Indians begging him to help them get to this country. Indians are far less likely to be persuaded of our virtue and peaceful intentions by State Department lecturers than by those of their own people who have been allowed to come here and see the best and the worst for themselves. Instead of excluding the thousands of Indians, students and others, who wish to visit us every year, we should be welcoming them with Fulbright and similar grants—expressions of friendship which Indians prefer to offers of free arms. This conclusion reached by Redding is entirely sound.

One strength of Communist propaganda everywhere is the fact that its freight is carried largely by native enthusiasts, with the Russians remaining well in the background. Until the West can win and rely on native partisans of its own, the labors of the United States Information Service are bound to be ineffective. However, unless we are prepared to receive such visitors "as equals in every respect," to use Panikkar's words, perhaps we had better stay home and grow up to it.

Who Forms Our Taste?

THE TASTEMAKERS. By Russell Lynes. Harper and Brothers. $5.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

JUST what is the matter with American taste, if anything is the matter, with it? I believe that there is a great deal the matter with it, and the first thing is that too many worry about it." Thus Mr. Lynes in the last chapter of his entertaining book, and if anyone should reply that Mr. Lynes himself has just been worrying about it for more than three hundred pages he might answer with some show of reason that "worrying" isn't quite the word.

Taking as his chief subjects architecture, decoration, and the graphic arts, he follows the lead of such other *Harper's* men as Allen, Kouwenhoven, and Bryson in searching out those concrete facts of cultural history to be found just outside the beaten tracks, and much of his book could be read as simple antiquarianism. But he has also at least half a dozen theses, of which the two first are: that what is commonly called "taste" is actually "fashion"—a very different thing because it means not "what you like" but what "you believe you ought to like"; and that at least since the mid-nineteenth century the popular so-called "taste" has been largely the product of propaganda undertaken by all sorts of persons and groups from all sorts of motives, ranging from the missionary zeal of largely disinterested enthusiasts to manufacturers and merchants who merely had something to sell. At the present moment the perfect illustration of the first group is the Museum of Modern Art. But the two most powerful influences are, first, the advertiser and, second, the innumerable band of columnists, advisers, counselors, and "experts" on this and that who overwhelm Americans—especially American females—with unending admonitions to do or not to do something about their dress, their furniture, their kitchen, their lawn, and their toilet bowls.

As is always the case, the concrete illustrations of what has been at one time or another held up as an example of the newest and best taste are hilarious or depressing according to the temperament of the observer. To anyone old enough to remember such minor and harmless touchstones as Rookwood pottery, Libbey cut glass, mission furniture, and the butcher-paper periodicals issued from East Aurora there is also a good deal of what lower middlebrows—to adopt Mr. Lynes's classification—call "the nostalgic." Is it really possible that the gingerbread monstrosity illustrated in one photograph was not only admired but recommended as "honest"? Or that Edward Bok could have campaigned against the shingled turrets and stained-glass windows of a later time only to praise in their stead a half-timbered pseudo-Elizabethan absurdity? As a cure for smugness take a look at what one would suppose some ye olde tea house on Cape Cod—brick fireplace, Dutch oven, hanging pot, pewter platters, copper skimmers, etc., etc. This, believe it or not, is the "executive dining room" of the J. Walter Thompson Company! It was assembled in the twenties and would hardly be built new today. But is "functional modernism" always less self-conscious?

Mr. Lynes covers a great deal of ground, including that occupied by "high art" as well as by low, giving us, for instance, an anecdotal account of the excitement over Powers's The Greek Slave exhibited in the 1850's and of the Armory Show which presented Nude Descending a Staircase. Advancing into the realm of theory, he enumerates the shibboleths by which present-day low-, high-, and middlebrows may be recognized, and is clever enough to be embarrassing to all except the highs, who will certainly class him as one of those middles by whom they cannot possibly be embarrassed. There is also an amusing table of pictures arranged in parallel columns to illustrate the wanderings of certain works of art taken up successively by the three kinds of brows. Thus Whistler's Mother was highbrow between 1870 and 1890, middlebrow from 1910 through 1920, and lowbrow ever since. Thanks no doubt to the Modern Museum's film department, the Griffith primitives leaped from lowbrow in the twenties to highbrow in the forties without attracting the interest of the middles at all.

ANYONE looking for a quarrel with Mr. Lynes will find the best basis for it in his more serious theses. To say that, on the whole, contemporary Americans are too little influenced by their own likings and too much by mentors of one sort or another is sound enough. But to imply that therefore everybody ought to let them alone is another matter. The advertisers certainly won't let them alone, and what the advice comes down to is that those who can be influenced should be abandoned completely to the merchants, who always have something new to sell and would like to see everything they sold previously torn down or thrown away even more promptly than it is.

Similarly, to say that "a great many people enjoy having taste, but too few of them really enjoy the things they have

---

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH is the author of "The Measure of Man" and, with others, "Is the Common Man Too Common?"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taste about" is to state wittily a melancholy truth. Those who don't know anything about art but know what they like are in a better state than the all-too-prevalent type of middlebrow and highbrow who thinks he knows all about art but doesn't know what he likes because he doesn't really like anything, even though he does like liking what he thinks he ought to like. On the other hand, there is something wrong with the statement "I do not know what *good* taste is" if you go on to imply, if not quite state, that there is therefore no use talking about it.

The fact that opinions will differ and change and that "good taste" can never be legally, scientifically, or dictatorially certified does not mean that no such thing exists or that, as Mr. Lynes himself certainly does not mean even to imply, one taste is as good as another. The eighteenth century had as good a way as any out of the dilemma when it relied upon what it called somewhat grandly "in accordance with nature" and meant "having an enduring as opposed to a temporary, merely modish appeal." Not even the highbrow is likely to maintain that Whistler's Mother is "bad taste" in the same sense that a gingerbread house or the J. Walter Thompson ye olde dining-room is. There is something enduring, something "natural," in the appeal of the one that was never in the appeal of the other two.

As a matter of fact, the principle was well stated by a nineteenth-century popular writer whom Mr. Lynes quotes: "Taste is like conscience; all have it, but they may blunt it—it becomes strengthened by use, and the more it is listened to, the stronger and more correct it will become, so as finally to be to the heart what sound judgment is to the mind." This, of course, is pure Pope. And there is enough truth in it to save a public, as perhaps nothing else can save it, from the advertiser and from those "experts" who are his secret allies.

Pamphleteer Turned Historian

THE UNITED STATES IN A CHANGING WORLD. An Historical Analysis of American Foreign Policy. By James P. Warburg. Putnam's. $5.75.

By Frederick L. Schuman

EFFECTIVE critics of foreign policy in the Age of Suspicion must be (1) impeccably anti-Communist, (2) financially independent, (3) possessed of a distinguished record of public service, both military and civilian, (4) capable of objectivity regarding the official "line," and (5) well-informed, keenly analytical, and able to present an argument with lucidity and eloquence. Among the few writers who fill the bill the ablest by far is James P. Warburg.

One of the most brilliant pamphleteers of our day, Mr. Warburg has now taken "time out" to write a history of foreign policy from a point before the beginning to a point beyond the now. Since this is not a work of "research" but of synthesis and reinterpretation, some diplomatic historians may snort and sneer, and all will find things to quarrel with. But Warburg, as always, is not quibbling with scholars but appealing to the reasonableness of his fellow-citizens.

The result is a lively reappraisal which deserves the widest possible reading and pondering. Mr. Warburg possesses in abundance the genius of the late Max Werner and the late Chester Wilmot—i. e., a gift of insight enabling him to penetrate the fog of facts and arrive at the inner essence of the great issues of policy-making. No one need agree with his judgments. Yet no one can afford to ignore the method of his analysis, which is the antithesis of the method of advertising slogans and the orgies of moral indignation which currently pass for "thinking" about foreign affairs. He concludes that "the teachings of Jesus Christ have now become the imperatives of survival. . . . The United States cannot, alone, save civilization; but, by default of affirmative leadership, it can come perilously close to insuring civilization's end." If this sounds strange, or even if it does not, read the book.

Next Week

The Paradoxes of Dr. Toynbee

by Frederick L. Schuman

A comprehensive critique of the final four volumes of Toynbee's "Study of History"

Woman's Emancipator

SUSAN B. ANTHONY. By Katharine Anthony. Doubleday. $6.

Susan B. Anthony did not live to see the enfranchisement of women in the United States by constitutional amendment, but for fifty years she was the undisputed leader of the fight for women's suffrage, undaunted by poverty, illness, or, finally, the disabilities of old age.

Susan Anthony was sensitive to all manifestations of social injustice, not only injustice toward women, believing that they were all part of a pattern. "So long as all men conspire to rob women of their citizen's right," she wrote to a labor newspaper, "we cannot expect these same men to be capable of perfect justice to each other."

Her biographer recounts her life and achievements with careful detail, giving at the same time a complete history of the woman's movement from 1850 until Miss Anthony's death in 1906. Interesting portraits of the great women in the movement are included—Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt, and others.

Muir and Mountains

THE WILDERNESS WORLD OF JOHN MUIR. Edited by Edwin Way Teale. Houghton Mifflin. $4.50.

Next to Thoreau, Muir is probably the most original and powerful of American nature writers. Though less a thinker and less a natural-born writer, he was as much at home in the great world of the Western mountains as Thoreau was in his New England parish, and at his best he can evoke the living presence of a primeval grandeur Thoreau could only dream of as something forever lost. This admirably edited volume is especially welcome because Muir seems to have been buried under the weight of a collected edition no longer much read. Here is a substantial selection including many of his grandest passages—those which describe his feats of mountain climbing as well as reminiscences of his incredibly hard childhood and youth. The result of these hardships seems to have been that he could enjoy as a man severe trials in lonely wildernesses. Mr. Teale's brief introductory notes are apt and illuminating.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Theater

Harold Clurman

IN Rodgers' and Hart's "On Your Toes" (Forty-sixth Street Theater) Elaine Stritch sings "You Took Advantage of Me" as if nobody could. Miss Stritch's non-expressive vigor says a lot. All these terrible things happen to me—I am devastated, destroyed by love, etc. —but nothing really happens: I go on being trim, bright, fashionably awry, and somehow untouched. The effect is coldly electrifying, the best, almost the only thing, in the show.

There are some pleasant, by now nearly nostalgic, songs, a rather funny dance routine in which an American yokel busts up a Russian ballet, girls who show a pretty portion of generous thigh in Balanchine's disappointing choreography. For the rest, Bobby Van, a nice boy and a good dancer, cannot make a musical as Ray Bolger could. The revival suffers from the lack of any central strength—originally supplied by that artist, whose dancing is really a wonderful form of acting.

"The Tender Trap" (Longacre Theater), judged in almost abstractly statistical terms, stands somewhere on the middle level of American theatrical entertainment. It has the racy immediacy of sidewalk talk, it is funny in a fairly undistinguished but unobjectionable key, and in an oblique way—not altogether unpremeditated—it makes a comment. A farce about bachelordom in New York, it suggests that it is better to marry than to mess.

Plays like "The Tender Trap" and the better "Seven Year Itch," which are designed for fun only, always seem to me to have a certain significance which should not be entirely overlooked. They make valuable footnotes to such documents as those of Dr. Kinsey.

"The Seven Year Itch" reflects the notion that a good part of our public would like to regard sex as a palliative, a hygienic sport as harmless and agreeable as an ice-cream soda. "The Tender Trap" hints—rather broadly—that to many American males marriage is a ball and chain which may or may not be preferable to the strain of the bachelor's life. More pungently it says that an intelligent girl over twenty-five finds it hard in New York to contact a male who is not already married or a drunk or a homosexual or a wastrel or a dumb-bell. And make no mistake about it—many, many women will confirm this seditious report. There are attractive girls in "The Tender Trap"—always an asset—and the cast is generally pleasant. There is a public for this sort of play, though probably not many among the readers of this journal.

Robert Ardrey, whose latest play, "Sing Me No Lullaby," is the respectable choice of the worthy Phoenix Theater, writes plays of meaning and frequently of good meaning. In this play he tells us that America is in serious trouble because it has fallen victim to the theory that there can be only two sides in social and moral questions, with an absolute cleavage between the two which nothing can bridge. Thus, when Mike Hertzog finds himself hounded by his past—he was a supporter of Soviet ideology in the thirties—he is robbed of all means of earning a livelihood and feels that there is nothing left for him to do but to seek refuge in China, since he too holds to the "either-or" theory.

Ardrey, whose sentiments are motivated by our traditional democracy, finds our mechanized conformism tragic and fatal, but as he is an optimist at heart, he bids us fight for a truer belief, no matter in what humble capacity. All this is honorable and sound; yet apart from the urgency of its theme "Sing Me No Lullaby" is Ardrey's poorest play. The story he tells is clumsily dramatized, so that very little we see happening on the stage is striking or moving, while the dialogue and behavior of his characters suffer from a schematic and juvenile ardor which at best should be found in notes for a play, not in its text.

Ardrey has always had this problem: he conceives plays abstractly, intellectually, if you will, though he has little intellect, and finds some theatrical image to embody it with greater or lesser effect —much as do the lighthouse and the ghosts out of the past in "Thunder Rock." But in "Sing Me No Lullaby" the flashback to the idealistic and hopeful thirties, with their contrast with the frightened fifties, falls flat, for here we are in the realm of contemporary history and we want concrete realities, not editorial rhetoric.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine . . . $9.50 You Save $2.50

The NATION

☐ *with* Consumer Reports . . . $10.75 You Save $1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION *by itself:*

☐ 1 Year $7 ☐ 2 Years $12 ☐ 3 Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE IS $5 A YEAR

MILITARY RATE IS AVAILABLE ONLY WHEN MAGAZINE IS SENT TO A MILITARY ADDRESS

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

10/30/54

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nothing convinces in the theater so much as the specific, and if we are to have plays to reveal the decline of our national morals—an abundant and imperative subject—they should not be pompous political or "social" plays but real studies of our intimate everyday life, so that we may see how our ordinary behavior becomes the typical tissue of which our social problems are woven. Ardrey is wholly American in his talent, and that talent usually manifests itself most tellingly in humble detail rather than in broad generalization.

Records

B. H. Haggin

AT ITS concert in Carnegie Hall the great Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra played, under Eduard van Beinum's direction, the Symphony No. 2 of Henk Badings to give the audience a sample of music by a Dutch composer, and Weber's Overture to "Der Freischütz," Ravel's Suite No. 2 from "Daphnis et Chloé," and Brahms's First Symphony to demonstrate the quality of the orchestra and conductor. In the first and last movements of Badings's symphony one heard competent use of a dissonant modern idiom, which in the slow movement produced writing that was beautiful and moving. And in this slow movement, as in some quiet passages of the Weber and Ravel pieces, one heard the refinement of execution and tone that one had heard in the orchestra's recorded performances. But the tuttis in the Weber were surprisingly dry; in the Ravel there was none of the glow, the shimmer, the splendor, the sumptuousness that the great American orchestras produce in the piece; and in the Danse générale of the Ravel piece, as in the concluding movement of the Badings symphony, there were unintegrated and raucous sounds from the brass such as the brass of these American orchestras don't produce in any music. Moreover, van Beinum's slow-moving expansiveness was more suitable and effective in the introduction of the Weber than in the Lever du jour of the Ravel; and his deliberate pace created no excitement in the Danse générale. As for the Brahms First, I hold with Shaw that there are things which can't be asked of a critic; and listening to the Brahms First is one of the things which can't be asked of me.

Two of Schumann's finest works for piano, the Fantasia Op. 17 and the "Childhood Scenes," are played superbly by Curzon; and his performances are reproduced with more beauty and clarity of sound on London LL-1009 than the excellent Yves Nat performances of the Fantasia and the Etudes Symphoniques on Haydn Society 87.

London also has issued a number of Backhaus's performances of Beethoven's sonatas. When I heard him in the twenties Backhaus was a pianist with prodigious technical powers and phlegmatic temperament who sat quiet and relaxed while his fingers glided up and down the keyboard as though in oil. With things like Chopin's Etudes or Brahms's Variations on a theme of Paganini the combination worked fine: some noisy old Victor records of the Chopin that I have, and a couple of better old records of the Brahms that I heard a few weeks ago, confirm my recollection of performances in which Backhaus's technique did not merely produce the figurations with dazzling speed, smoothness, and brilliance, but transcended difficulties to achieve an incandescent ease and grace.

TERM "GOD" UNDERVALUED IN CURRENT CHURCH USAGE

If a railroad engine, powerful enough to pull thousands of tons, were used persistently—day after day—to drag a train of toy cars, everybody would say that the engine was being inefficiently employed. And yet, this is precisely the way the term "God" is habitually used by the honest and well meaning people who belong to the churches.

We have learned, in earlier installments, that the term "God" comes to us out of a great struggle, which was led by the Hebrew prophets, against the unjust economic and social practices identified with Baal and "other gods". It was this very struggle that lifted the terms "God" and "Jehovah" (or "Yahweh") upward from the level of heathenism. The prophets, who victoriously fought heathen gods, learned to think of Deity as a Personal Force, above Nature, but identified with Social Justice (not socialism or communism).

The idea of social justice was expelled so thoroughly from the ancient church that it has been treated as an intruder in the sphere of religion for more than fifteen hundred years. The term "God" has been restricted to the idea of individual righteousness and personal redemption—just like the powerful engine pulling only a toy train. In the prophet Isaiah's vision of God's purpose "He will bring forth justice to the nations [not simply to Israel]. He will not fail nor be discouraged until he have set justice in the earth" [not merely in Israel], (Isa. 42). Instead of this imperial world-ideal, most religious people, in all honesty and sincerity, have been satisfied with personal salvation and individual comfort from the Lord. (A little selfish, is it not?) Do you wish to use your influence in promoting knowledge of truth and fact which will help to bring the churches and the general public up to the intellectual level of our progressive theological seminaries and outstanding universities?—A circular will be sent to you upon receipt of a three-cent stamp to cover postage. Requests for the circular must be accompanied by the three-cent stamp to defray cost of mailing.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

(ADVERTISEMENT)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLICATIONS

IMPORTED BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Just received Volumes 25 and 26 of the

GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

In Russian

Available Vols. 1 to 26

Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. This new, enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors include leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.

Regular price — $9.50 per vol.

Our Subscription Offer: $8.00 per vol.

MAXIM GORKY'S

The great novel

"MOTHER"

In English

This book gives a broad and generalized picture of life in Russia on the eve of the revolution of 1905. 717 pp. **Price $1.50**

Ask for complete catalog E-55 and "Periodica"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 West 56th St. 822 Broadway

New York 19, N. Y. New York 3, N. Y.

GRamercy 3-2018-19

FOREIGN JOB OPPORTUNITIES Excellent professional, technical, teaching and clerical positions in Europe, Asia, S. America, Africa. Detailed information on 200 job classifications and over 100 firms and government agencies now hiring. **Only $1.** Money-back guarantee. **Otis Publications, Box 21N, Alden Manor, Elmont, N. Y.**

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel., WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS by professionally trained psychologist-graphologist. Commercial and industrial personnel selection. Vocational guidance. Marital, personal, emotional problems. Fee $3.00. **Dr. Hans Weil, 7½ Jane St., N. Y. C. 14. Telephone: CH 3-7880.**

SITUATION WANTED

NEW ENGLAND LIBERAL. Has been farmers advisor, teacher, research economist, promoter, some writing—wants job. Box 380, c/o The Nation.

WORKER WANTED

WANTED: Full-time Membership Director with broad experience in progressive civic, labor or professional organization. Box 383, c/o The Nation.

PERSONALS

MATURE professional woman driving 1954 Ford California mid-November from Chicago, wants companions share driving, expenses. References exchanged. Box 382, c/o The Nation.

TELEVISION SPECIAL—17" ADMIRAL Table Model. Regularly $179.95—SPECIAL $119.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 Fourth Avenue (13th & 14th Sts.), N. Y. C. GR 3-7819. **1 hour free parking or 2 tokens.**

BUY

UNITED STATES

SAVINGS BONDS

But music of high expressive content came out very dull, or even worse than dull when he tried for expressiveness. A couple of years ago a London record revealed a loss of the speed and smoothness, the ease and grace in his performances of the Chopin Etudes; and the present records reveal no gain in power to give clarity and continuity of outline and expressive effect to a Beethoven sonata movement.

Mozart's delightful Piano Concertos K.271 and 450 lose by Münchinger's characteristic over-deliverate tempos with the orchestra, and the lack of sharpness and force in Kempff's playing of the solo parts, in the performances on London LL-998.

On the other hand it is amazing to hear how the tensile strength of Casals's tone and the tensions of his phrasing give coherence to Schumann's rambling Cello Concerto, in the performance with the Prades Festival Orchestra on Columbia ML-4926. And exciting in the same way are Casals's performances of a number of small pieces on the reverse side, including the impassioned performance of the Aria from Bach's Organ Pastorale in F that was included as a bonus in the second volume of the 1951 Perpignan Festival.

Of Walton's Viola Concerto, played on Columbia ML-4905 by Primrose with the Royal Philharmonic under Sargent, I like only the second movement and the first part of the third, which Primrose plays better than the other parts. Hindemith's "Der Schwanendreher" is on the reverse side.

Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet gets a poor performance by the Vienna Philharmonic Quartet, badly reproduced on Telefunken LGX-66016.

Listening to Suzanne Danco's lovely and sensitively phrased singing in Bach's Cantatas No. 51 "Jauchzet Gott in allen Landen" and 202 "Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten" with the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger, on London LL-993, one realizes that Elisabeth Schwarzkopf's performance of No. 51 on Columbia ML-4792 was a vocal tour de force, not a performance of the music. However the tour de force kept one from noticing what Danco's performance allows one to hear —how dull the piece is. And so is No. 202 after the impressive opening section of the first aria.

Letter from Burma

(Continued from inside front cover)

these, not military aid or alliances, are wanted. Peoples living in freedom and prosperity offer the strongest defense against communism and other totalitarian creeds. "If there is a war," U Nu thinks, "there will be no victors; atom bombs and hydrogen bombs will blast the world, and out of the devastation only communism will rise."

International Freedom Day is not just a day when Socialists the world over will unite in support of peoples who still live under the shadow of colonialism. It is the day when all dependent peoples will decide to build peace and happiness for themselves on the solid foundation of equality and freedom and cooperation.

Rangoon, Burma

Price Support for Honey

Dear Sirs: The operation of flexible price supports for farm commodities can be judged from the record of honey under price support since 1949. The support price for honey never has been set higher than 70 per cent of parity, although the bee population is decreasing and no domestic surplus of honey exists, only an imported surplus. By application of modernized parity this represented an average price of 11.5 cents per pound in 1952 and only 10.2 cents per pound in 1954. The authority allowing officials to adjust prices according to area and grade has reduced the support price for light-amber table honey in the West to 8.4 cents per pound in 1954. The consumer can judge whether these prices bear any relation to the retail price of honey.

Protests of producers to administrators of the program in the Department of Agriculture are as hopeless as negotiations with God when He proposes to have one struck by lightning—useless before the deed and impossible of revision afterward. At stake is the pollination of the fifty crops dependent upon the services of the honey bee, a gift to agriculture as important as proper tillage.

MRS LAURA SHEPHARD, Secretary,
Imperial Valley Beekeepers Association

Calexico, Calif.

Alain Leroy Locke

Dear Sirs: The works of Alain Leroy Locke, recently deceased professor emeritus of philosophy at Howard University, are being edited for publication, and this committee would like to include such letters as significantly express his personality, philosophy, and personal relations. We are particularly interested in Professor Locke's comments on social philosophy and interracial problems. Any material sent to us, at 12 Grove Street, New York 14, will be returned if so desired.

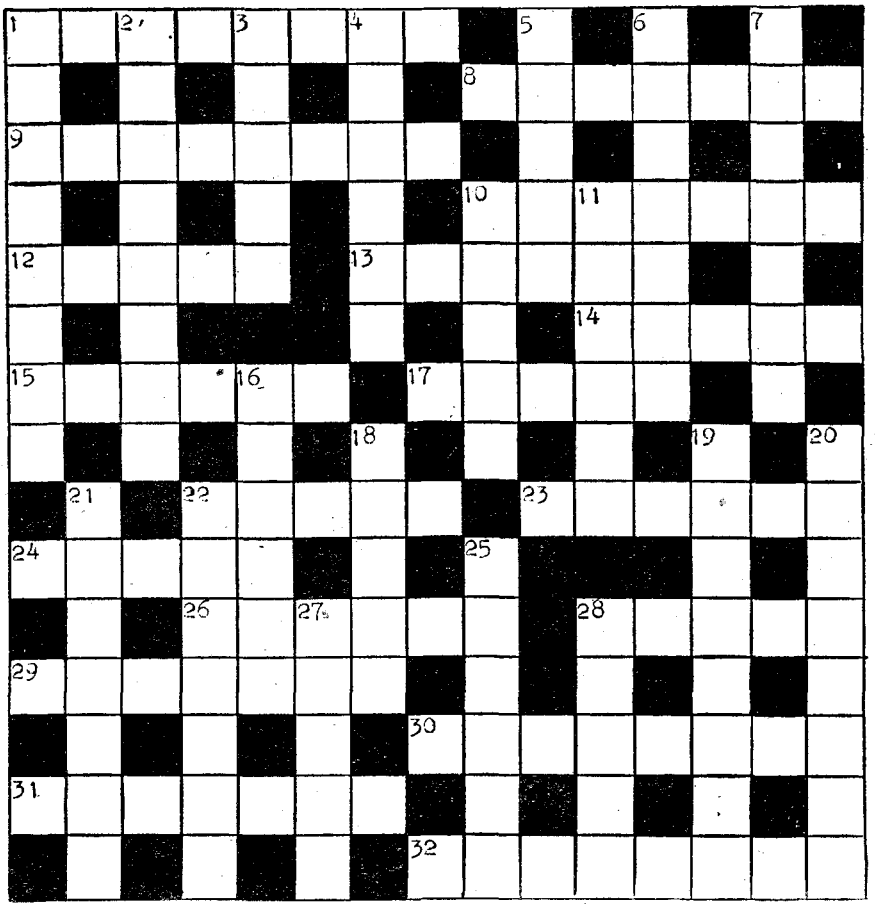
ALAIN LOCKE MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 591

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 22 down. Evidently not the occasion of an original idea. (2, 6, 7)
8 See 15 across.
9 Experimental method of London travel? (4, 4)
10 Rants about in the valleys. (7)
12 Give up production. (5)
13 Known as a comer on the stage. (6)
14 Acute disturbance in Spanish Morocco. (5)
15, 8 and 11 down. Character that disapproves of Hoover, for example? (6, 6, 1, 6)
17 Indistinct sound associated with you and me. (5)
22 In accord. (5)
23 Current physicist. (6)
24 The part of the rope you grab with your teeth? (5)
26 Sort of one to one, when it comes to figuring a lover of Paris. (6)
28 Employers. (5)
29 "The moon, rising in _____ majesty." (Paradise Lost) (7)
30 Will the thing that lists him as a performer? (8)
31 Urge the boss to be intellectual, in a rather vulgar way? (3–4)
32 Rose. (8)

DOWN

1 Stretching the truth more than anyone! (8)
2 What one does when the proof is less than 100%. (8)
3 Spoken of as a saw-like sound. (5)
4 The gist of things over the box, or a piece of it. (6)
5 What shouldn't be in the eye opposite the middle? (5)
6 Not quite snugness, according to some. (7)
7 Looks like a 2 without a country. (7)
10 See 28 down.
11 See 15 across.
16 Started on the right track or turned back. (6)
18 Her force is despotic. (5)
19 and 21. Auburn, perhaps. (8, 7)
20 Cut or scratched, maybe. (8)
21 See 19 down.
22 See 1 across.
25 Sex is a peculiar thing to find in court! (6)
27 Penal state. (5)
28 and 10. Harris and MacDowell told his tale. (5, 5)

—✂—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 590

ACROSS:—11 AVON; 12 AZIMUTH; 13 BAHAMAS; 15 MISNOMER; 16 ROMOLA; 18 TRACER; 21 ARBALEST; 26 FLATCAR; 29, 24, 8, 9, 1, 31 and 10 NOW IS THE TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN TO COME TO THE AID OF THE PARTY; 30 and 25 ELKS TEETH.

DOWN:—2 EUDEMONIC; 3 TAPETUM; 4 and 23 CORNSTALKS; 5 MAYFAIR; 6 TIARA; 7 BORZOI; 14, 22 and 28 GREAT BALLS OF FIRE; 17 MILK TEETH; 19 REHAIR; 20 ROMANIA; 27 AWED.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

RESORTS

50 Miles to FOREST HOUSE
Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.
FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

For Your YEAR-ROUND Vacation Plans
CARAN LODGE
Sylvan Lake • Hopewell Junction • New York
60 miles from New York on Taconic Parkway
Tennis, Folk Dancing and Singing, 4 cozy fireplaces. 10 minutes from James Baird Golf Course. Children's Day Camp. Food . . . Superb and Abundant.
Take a drive and have Sunday Dinner with us.
Reservations:
New York HI 6-7506 Hopewell Junction 6-2632

Green Acres Lodge
45 Miles N. Y. C. • OPEN ALL YEAR
Picturesque Estate • Seasonal Sports
Excellent Food
Central Valley, N. Y. Tel: Highland Mills 3071

THE PINES. Modern year-round retreat for adults in the Blue Mountains of Pennsylvania Dutch Country. Continental cuisine. Intimate group of congenial people. 95 miles from N. Y. C., 60 miles from Philadelphia. Write: Mrs. Ann Wunthal, Danielsville, R. D. 1, Penna. Tel.: Bath Te 7-6501

RESTAURANT

BALALAIKA
157 West 56 Street
New York City
Gypsy Orchestra
Dining—Dancing
Two Shows Nightly
Banquet Department
For reservations call PLaza 7-2334

APARTMENT TO SHARE

YOUNG WOMAN will share with same spacious 3-room apartment, real kitchen, modern East Midtown elevator building; own large room, 10-foot closet; $100 month covers everything. GRamercy 5-6981; Box 384, c/o The Nation.

LECTURES

SCOTT NEARING courses: Tuesday, November 2, 6:30–8:00 P.M. "THE REVOLUTION OF OUR TIME": 8:30–10:00 P.M. "WORLD EVENTS." Cornish Arms Hotel, 23rd Street & 8th Avenue, N. Y. C. $1.10 at door; course ticket $3.50. Auspices: Monthly Review Associates, 218 West 10th Street, N. Y. OR 5-6939.

AUDIO

HI FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPH
sales, installation and service
VECTOR LABS
217 3rd Ave. • N. Y. C. 3 • GR 3-7686

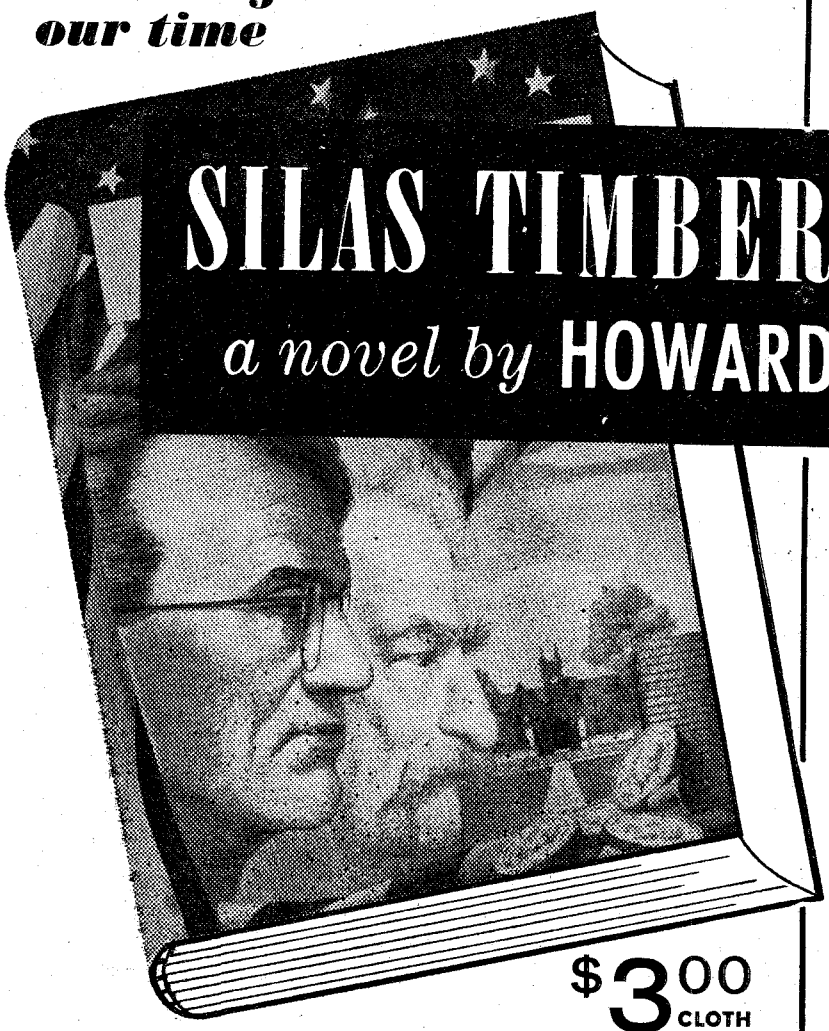
Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
•
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per Inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders
•
The NATION
333 SIXTH AVENUE
New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the story of our time



SILAS TIMBERMAN

a novel by HOWARD FAST

Silas Timberman
The Professor

Myra Timberman
Silas' Wife

Ike Amsterdam
The Old Professor

Ed Lundfest
The Dean

Alec Brady
The History Prof

Jerome Lennox
The Student

$3.00 CLOTH

Silas Timberman was a professor of English Literature in a mid-western university. He lived quietly with his wife and three children in a pleasant Georgian house no different from a hundred thousand other such houses in the U. S. A. Evenings, he occupied himself with a thesis on Mark Twain.

Out of this quiet existence, he was plunged into a nightmare-like drama that made his name a household word throughout America—and this is the story Howard Fast tells in the best of all his novels.

SILAS TIMBERMAN is *the* American novel of our time, the story of the greatness of a man and a woman in love and together against all odds. It is a book you must read—because no other book like it has been written. It is a book that will be remembered for generations to come.

At all book-stores or use this coupon to order directly from:

BLUE HERON PRESS, 47 West 63rd Street, New York 23, N. Y.

I am enclosing $_____ for _____ copies of SILAS TIMBERMAN by Howard Fast at $3.00 plus 25¢ for postage and handling.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

REV. JOHN HOWARD MELISH says:

You have held a glass up to ourselves as a people. Except for those 'who have eyes and see not,' you have brought us a knowledge of ourselves and the workings of our institutions. How slow we all are to learn!

The real hero of your book, Mark Twain, wrote of "the universal conspiracy of the silent assertion . . . that nothing is going on which fair and intelligent men are aware of and are engaged by their duty to stop.'

Silas Timberman, American to the core of his consciousness, sensed what Mark Twain was talking about. In standing by what he saw, Silas discovered *himself* in the ever-fresh making of a man—a true American!

Those of us who have passed through a similar experience recognize in his story the note of authenticity.

You have written fine books about the past. This book is about the present. I dare to predict that it will prove itself the most useful book you have written.

For those among us who are honest, and for those countless perplexed people in other lands who are studying the phenomenon that is contemporary America, 'Silas Timberman' opens the door of the understanding.

More than that. In showing the making of a man through his response to the challenge to suffer for principle and the future, the story that you tell so simply, so convincingly—has the cleansing and invigorating effect of Greek tragedy. May it inspire us all to act!"

Blue Heron Press, Inc. **47 WEST 63rd STREET, NEW YORK 23, NEW YORK**

The Charles C. Chappell Library
TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Nashville, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED